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REMEMBER NUREMBERG

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A. POLTORAK, Y. ZAITSEV

REMEMBER NUREMBERG

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TO THE MEMORY OF B. M. ZAITSEV, THE FATHER OF ONE OF THESE WRITERS, WHO LOST HIS LIFE AT THE HANDS OF NAZI BUTCHERS.

The Authors

INTRODUCTION

HOPES AND REALITY

In that historic spring of 1945 a tormented mankind was drawing up the first grim accounts of the Second World War. Men felt the end of Hitler's Reich to be near; among the ruins of the greatest cities of Europe hopes for a better future blossomed in their stricken hearts. They were taking a new look at old concepts and truths which had once seemed inviolable. For such is the way of men. Even in their darkest hour they cherish hopes and have faith in better things, seeking a way forward to achieve them.

And in confirmation of these hopes—hopes for a stable peace and creative labour—from the sun-drenched shores of the Black Sea came the words of the Declaration of the Heads of Government of the United States, the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain:

"It is our inflexible purpose to destroy German militarism and Nazism and to ensure that Germany will never again be able to disturb the peace of the world. We are determined to disarm and disband all German Armed Forces; break up for all time the German General Staff that has repeatedly contrived the resurgence of German militarism."

When from the Crimea Conference the world learnt of these lofty purposes of the Allied Powers, its hopes that fascism and militarism would be abolished for all time and that it would never again be threatened by criminal aggressions and monstrous crimes by the German militarists became yet stronger.

On April 9, 1945 troops of the American 9th Division, having occupied the village of Merkers, discovered an underground hide-out. In a dry salt mine, 1,900 feet below the surface, were found the last gold and foreign currency reserves of the Reich.

"Eisenhower and I went down in the double-tiered lift with a German workman operating the hoist," recalls General Omar Bradley. "The bullion, in 25-pound bars, was packed two a sack and stenciled in black with the imprint of the Reichsbank. The custodian explained that these three billion Reichsmarks were the last reserves of that kind in Germany.

" 'They will be badly needed,' he assured me, 'to meet the army payroll.'

" 'Tell him,' I said to the interpreter, 'that I doubt the German Army will be meeting payrolls much longer.' "* Many were of the same opinion. The Allied Powers who had fought side by side against German fascism also found a common language when it came to punishing the major German war criminals.

The International Military Tribunal delivered its historic judgement on October 1, 1946. While signing the verdict, the Soviet Judge Nikitchenko felt at the same time obliged to supplement it with a dissenting opinion which in 1946 seemed to many either unnecessary or "unduly harsh". The Soviet Union's demand that the German General Staff be declared a criminal organisation, as was provided for in the indictment, seemed superfluous. The heated discussions in the lobbies of the Palace of Justice come to mind. The trial had ended but Nuremberg still buzzed. Some Western representatives, with whom Soviet lawyers had worked in complete accord throughout the trial, expressed regret that the Soviet judges without, it seemed to them, "any good cause" had by their dissenting opinion introduced "such an undesirable note" into the

* Omar N. Bradley, *A Soldier's Story*, New York, 1951, p. 540.

verdict. "Why was it necessary?" a British correspondent asked the Soviet representatives. "After all, German militarism has been smashed.... Isn't it clear that after such a lesson the Germans will be afraid of the very word 'soldier' for at least a century?" It would be interesting to hear what that correspondent has to say today, when the swift resurgence of German militarism, the creation of an aggressive Bundeswehr, the repression of democratic organisations and the fanning of militarist passions have become the characteristic features of the present-day political scene in West Germany.

... The black-white-red banner is barely visible through the tobacco smoke filling the beer-hall. On the rostrum stands a man, head thrown back. His voice rings with the "solemnity of the historic moment". His hearers—young and old men sitting at the tables—applaud him to the echo. He descends from the rostrum and, turning to his audience, declares: "Brothers in arms! I ask you now to raise your glasses and according to tradition drink with me to this day, to our sacred Greater Germany, to our beloved people, to the memory of the great German Führer Adolf Hitler, whose unique qualities will one day be acknowledged not only in Germany but throughout the world—to our Reich, our People, our Führer! *Sieg Heil!*" And 65 voices took up the strain of a marching song.

That took place in West Germany on April 20, 1959, at one of the many celebrations which to this day are held to mark "the Führer's birthday". According to the *Frankfurter Rundschau* of September 4, 1959, the organisers of the event we have described were members of the Kampfbund Germania. Such rallies are not the only form that Nazi activity assumes.

It was with every justification that Soviet Prime Minister Khrushchov, analysing the political processes now taking place in West Germany, declared that "the tendency to whitewash, virtually to rehabilitate, the bloody Hitler regime has recently become more pronounced".

While paying lip-service to democracy and uttering many angry phrases about Hitler, Chancellor Adenauer is in fact pursuing a policy in many ways borrowed from the arsenal of the Third Reich. Is not the re-establishment of a revenge-seeking German Army in West Germany the clearest proof of the aggressive aspirations of German imperialism? Adenauer tries to reassure the world that the Bundeswehr he has created has nothing in common with Hitler's Wehrmacht, either in aims or principles of organisation. But what are the facts? The Bundeswehr has from its very first days been led by top Hitler generals and officers. Among them is Heusinger, the man who was Hitler's Deputy Chief of Staff and who personally drew up the gangster-like plans for aggression against a series of European countries. Nor did the Bonn authorities hesitate long when selecting a candidate for the post of Commander-in-Chief of the West German Air Forces. The choice fell on the Hitler general Kammhuber, Göring's right-hand man. Continuing their policy of drawing the leaders of the Bundeswehr from among the Hitler war criminals, the West German Government called upon Speidel, notorious for his activities in the Second World War. Furthermore, seizing key posts in NATO one after the other, the reactionary West German rulers secured his appointment as Commander-in-Chief of NATO Land Forces, Central Europe. And no sooner was the ex-Hitler General Foertsch released from gaol than he joined the Bundeswehr, and he has now been appointed as Commander-in-Chief of the West German Army.

The Hitler generals who have taken over the leadership of the Bundeswehr have not forgotten the basic tenets of their aggressive policy. The spirit of revanchism permeates the entire system of the ideological training of the West German soldier. Revenge has in fact become the alpha and omega of the entire policy of Adenauer's West Germany. This policy threatens the world with a new war. Noting this circumstance, Khrushchov declared: "... We have

heard Herr Adenauer's assurances that he is not a revenge-seeker and would not tolerate a single Minister who was a revenge-seeker in his government. The German people indeed want nothing to do with the revenge-seekers. But how does Chancellor Adenauer's statement tie up with the fact that the West German Government seeks the revision of European frontiers established after the Second World War and reacts with hostility to any statement designed to eliminate the vestiges of the Second World War, secure the signing of a German peace treaty and establish a stable peace in Europe?"

The answer is that the German militarists hope for a new war and another chance to redraw the map of Europe. That is the reason for the strident revenge-seeking campaign that is being waged by reactionary West German newspapers and magazines. Furthermore, this campaign was launched on the very first day of the Federal Republic's existence, and members of the West German Government, Hitler generals and leaders of the numerous Länder organisations all play an active part in it. As early as 1949 Adenauer hastened to lay claim to the provinces of Western Poland, categorically refusing to recognise the Oder-Neisse frontier. In 1953 he spoke of the need for the "colonisation of the East". So that there should be no doubts about what he meant, he named the Soviet Union as a "mortal enemy". In 1959 he declared that the Sudetenland should be handed back to Germany. Echoing the Chancellor, the neo-Nazi journal *Geopolitik* put forward the following thesis, directly borrowed from the arsenal of Goebbels propaganda: "The only thing the Soviet Union can give Western Europe ... is Lebensraum. Insofar as Europe's present plight is due to over-population ... Europe must seek Lebensraum by force." But it would be a mistake to believe that the West German militarists' revenge-seeking aspirations are directed only to the East. As long ago as March 2, 1951, a Bonn Minister, Jakob Kaiser, declared at Salzburg that "a real Europe can be

created only on condition German unity is restored. This includes, I would recall, not only Germany but also Austria, part of Switzerland, the Saar and Alsace-Lorraine".

Blücher, the representative of the West German monopolies in the European Coal and Steel Community, expressed a similar point of view in January 1953, but somewhat more cautiously: "Only through the extension of her economic area can Germany receive compensation enabling her to forget the vicissitudes of 1918."

By "vicissitudes" this West German magnate means Alsace-Lorraine, Austria, North Schleswig and the Eupen and Malmedy area.

In November 1953 the former French Prime Minister Daladier, one of the men of Munich, who found out for himself what a Hitler concentration camp was like and what were the consequences of appeasement, spoke in favour of the present Polish frontier along the Oder-Neisse.

The newspaper *Ost-West-Kurier* replied with this angry tirade: "What then is Alsace? What is Lorraine? Are these old French lands? Should not France then give up such cities as Toul, Nancy and Montbéliard, for these are ancient German settlements? Should not then Corsica and the province of Nice be transferred to Italy?... Normandy is also not French in origin, any more than the Flemish North and the city of Ryssel, now known as Lille, and the Southern lands of the Basques and Catalonians."*

Adenauer declares that he would not tolerate a single revenge-seeker in his government. But what are we to think of a speech by Minister Oberländer delivered at the Rhine-Ruhr Club in Düsseldorf, in which he declared that Bonn's territorial claims also extend to such countries as Holland? He added that in addition to East Prussia, the

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* All the above quotations are taken from the *Weißbuch über die aggressive Politik der Regierung der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik*, Berlin, 1958, S. 57.

Polish provinces and the Sudetenland, the district of Siebenbürgen in Rumania is a "German island".

Trying to implement their revenge-seeking programme, the Bonn militarists are feverishly rearming, building up the Bundeswehr and strengthening their air and naval forces. The West German Army is getting ready for war. It is not necessary to be very observant to see that Bonn's domestic policy is also based on the experience of the Third Reich. Nor is this surprising. Those who prepare for war must clearly understand one simple truth: no people wants war and will oppose it to the extent that its strength and organisation permits. That is why Hitler, before launching his campaign of aggression, introduced a series of Draconian measures designed to crush all opposition to his predatory policy. Is not Bonn now doing exactly the same thing? Was not one of Adenauer's first moves in this direction the banning of the Communist Party—the very thing with which Hitler began? This prohibition is reminiscent of Hitler's "Defence of People and State" decree which destroyed constitutional guarantees on the pretext of fighting the "Communist conspiracy". But, again as in the days of the Third Reich, Bonn Germany does not restrict itself to anti-Communist terror. Many other democratic organisations have also fallen victim to this attack. Already more than 400 have been banned. With every passing year the number of trials of peace-lovers and democrats increases. According to figures published in the press, during recent years there have been 15,000 trials of peace supporters in West Germany. The Düsseldorf Trial directed against the supporters of peaceful coexistence was one of the "achievements" of Bonn "democracy". Bonn is trying to suppress popular dissatisfaction with the aggressive policy of the imperialist groups in the Federal Republic with the aid of police repression.

While suppressing democratic organisations, the forces of reaction in Bonn are simultaneously re-establishing openly fascist groups. The activity of the S.S., which the

verdict of the International Military Tribunal declared to be a criminal organisation, has in effect been legalised. The same Nazi cutthroats who left such bloody traces in Europe are once again honoured in West Germany.

At the end of 1959 the whole world was angered by the openly fascist manifestations of neo-Nazi thugs in West Germany. They were echoed in Austria, Britain, Norway, Belgium, Italy and other countries. Just as in the days before Hitler's seizure of power, the Nazi swastika was daubed on walls; democratic leaders and M.P.s began to get threatening letters. The quiet of the West Berlin night was broken by the strident notes of fascist marching songs, and the smoke of torches in the city streets recalled the events of the 30s. There is no doubt that these outbursts were the result of the Western Powers' systematic policy of encouraging revenge-seeking militarist elements in Bonn. Is it surprising that the West German climate is today congenial to Nazi propaganda?

The resurgence of German militarism is going forward in step with the re-establishment of sundry S.S. bunds and associations, with criminal racism and anti-Semitism as their ideological platform. The gangster-like activities of S.S. units are glorified in every possible way and regular rallies of S.S. men held at which the Hitler regime is hailed and calls for hate and violence heard.

* * *

The German militarists' propaganda machine in West Germany, flooding the market with all kinds of neo-Nazi literature and the memoirs of former Hitlerites, is going all out to make the people forget the aggressive nature of the German militarists and their atrocities. They want the public to forget so that it will be easier to use the Hitler generals and the ex-S.S. men in the Federal Republic's state apparatus, in the Bundeswehr and in the police and similar organs. "Before polishing the weapons,

it is necessary to refurbish the reputations"—that is the advice that West German reactionaries are following in their efforts to rehabilitate the defeated militarists in the eyes of the new generation. This too is the purpose of the flood of propaganda literature put out in West Germany. An analysis of this literature soon makes it clear that the aim of its authors is to create two main myths, the purpose of which is to rehabilitate German militarism and to clear the German generals now joining the Bundeswehr in large numbers from responsibility for Hitler's policy of aggression and atrocity.

Despite the well-established facts, efforts are being made to "prove" that the German generals had nothing to do with Nazism or the Nazi Party; it is claimed that the generals not only did not assist Hitler's seizure of power, but that they on the contrary did everything possible to prevent it. The German generals, the argument runs, too well remembered the price the German people paid for the First World War to want to drag Germany into a new cataclysm. The generals had, of course, been trained to defend and protect their homeland, but they had no thought of attacking other countries. That, in essence, is the first myth.

The wars that Hitler Germany waged against the European countries were accompanied by war crimes of unprecedented bestiality. As we shall subsequently see, not a single German general during the Nuremberg Trial dared, when confronted by innumerable documentary and other evidence, to deny the fact that these crimes had been committed. But even then and to an increasing extent since the German generals, the real perpetrators of the Nazi atrocities, sought to throw the entire blame upon the punitive organs of the Third Reich: the S.S., the S.D. and the Gestapo. That is the second myth.

The purpose of this campaign of falsification now being waged in West Germany, which has the backing of some circles in the NATO countries, is to whitewash militarism

and justify the crime of recruiting Hitler war criminals into the Bundeswehr and installing them in key posts in NATO.

The people of the whole world are watching the ominous course of events in West Germany with great alarm. They would like to think that, among other key issues, the German question will be solved in the interests of peace and democracy, and in this way the realisation of the aggressive schemes of the German militarists prevented. "Little will be accomplished by shaking the poisoned fruit from the tree. It is much harder to dig the tree up by the roots, but only this will in the long run do much good. The tree which bore this fruit is German militarism." Those were the words of General Taylor, the American Prosecutor at the Nuremberg Trial. They should be remembered today —remembered so that through the common efforts of the people of the world an end may be put to the danger that German militarism has represented for many decades. It should be remembered, and clearly remembered, that if the friends of peace do not check the dangerous tendencies to be seen in the development of the Federal Republic, they can lead to a third world war.

Chapter One

THE GERMAN GENERALS and NAZI AGGRESSION

"WHERE WILL YOU FIND EVEN A TRACE OF GERMAN MILITARISM!"

In their efforts to acquit the German General Staff in the eyes of the world, the German generals have resorted to many propaganda tricks. Their aim is to "prove" that the generals were not only opposed to Hitler's aggressive policy but that furthermore they did everything possible to prevent his rise to power, since, according to them, nothing could have been more at variance with the outlook and concepts of the German generals than Hitler's policy. "German soldiers of every rank," General von Brauchitsch told the Nuremberg Tribunal, "had been trained to defend and protect their homeland. They did not think about wars of conquest, or the expansion of German domination over other peoples."* That is one of the legends designed to acquit the German generals of responsibility for aggression and the innumerable crimes that accompanied it. The defence counsel for the German military leaders at the Nuremberg Trial made great efforts to establish and popularise this legend. Nor were these efforts confined to the Nuremberg courtroom, where the only international trial in history of those guilty of aggression lasted for ten months. The years went by, and these counsel joined in the chorus of reactionary propaganda designed to depict the Hitler generals as peacemakers, zealous opponents of

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* *International Military Tribunal* (hereafter *I.M.T.*), Vol. XX, p. 574.

war and friends of peace. The most prominent role in this respect is played in West Germany by Hans Laternser, who defended the Hitler General Staff at Nuremberg.

"Where will you find even a trace of German 'militarism' that would help in the preparation of Hitler's aggressive plans?" Laternser wrote some years after the Nuremberg Trial. "The officers of that time acted solely in the spirit of peace and humanity, to ensure defence in case of hostile attack.... If unanimity ever indeed existed among the military leaders it was certainly not in the planning of aggressive wars but in rejecting such plans put forward by the head of government."*

It was with this end in view that Wolfgang Foerster, the former head of the Historical Directorate of the Wehrmacht General Staff, using every means to rehabilitate the General Staff, wrote of one of its leaders, Colonel General Ludwig Beck, that he "did not doubt that under conditions which had radically changed as compared with the past, the Supreme Command of the Wehrmacht owed it to the nation to do everything to save Germany from the horrors of a new war". The author's approach is reflected in the very title of the book: *Colonel General Ludwig Beck—His Struggle Against War.***

Not opinions, but documents from the archives of the German General Staff and the Hitler Government, and the evidence given at Nuremberg by the Hitler generals themselves are undoubtedly the best means of refuting such claims. The documents have been published in many countries and are available to any historian. So let us then examine the theory that the German generals were opposed to Hitler's policy in general and to the Nazi plans for aggression in particular.

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* Hans Laternser, *Verteidigung deutscher Soldaten*, Bonn, 1950, S. 25, 26.

** Wolfgang Foerster, *Generaloberst Ludwig Beck. Sein Kampf gegen den Krieg*. München, 1953, S. 69.

In September 1923 "Germany Day" was celebrated in Nuremberg. It was organised by the military bunds headed by General Ludendorff, one of the leaders of the German military caste during the First World War. During the great marchpast of the bunds Hitler stood at Ludendorff's side.

Two months later came the Munich putsch. Hitler and Ludendorff marched upon the centre of the city at the head of several thousand men. There were armed clashes with the police. The putsch was defeated and Hitler and Ludendorff brought up for trial. During the trial Ludendorff pronounced his judgement on Hitlerism, describing it as "a national movement of emancipation". He said: "I have come to the conclusion that it is necessary to give the nation something new which would give meaning to their lives. A national movement of liberation has become for me an urgent necessity."

Thus Ludendorff, one of the pillars of the German military caste, stood by the cradle of the new-born Nazism, lending it his authority, his name and his blessing.

During December 1932 and January 1933 Germany was the arena of bitter political struggle. An issue which was to determine the destiny of Germany—and not only of Germany—was being decided: would the Nazis win power? And once more the German generals left their mark upon the course of events. On the parade ground at Furstenberg Hitler met the Commander-in-Chief of the Reichswehr, General von Schleicher. The Nazi leader found in him a reliable ally who promised to use all his influence to smooth the path to the Chancellorship for the "people's tribune". So satisfied was Hitler with this talk that he told the general that "a memorial should be erected with the words: 'Here took place the memorable meeting between Adolf Hitler and General von Schleicher.' "*

* Konrad Heiden, *Geburt des dritten Reiches. Die Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus bis Herbst 1933*, Zürich, 1934, S. 77-78.

After this meeting, Hitler, full of hope, hastened to Berlin. He believed he would become Chancellor, because Schleicher had promised him he would. In the opinion of the Nazis, Schleicher was the only man in the cabinet worth anything: he was the only one with 100,000 Reichswehr troops at his back.

The documents of the Nuremberg Trial confirm Heiden's version of events. Von Papen told the court: "Von Schleicher said to me: 'There is a cabinet crisis, we are looking for a Chancellor.' "* Von Papen went on to declare that at the decisive meeting of the cabinet at which Hitler's appointment as Chancellor was discussed, General von Schleicher supported the Nazi leader's candidature. What is particularly noteworthy in Papen's evidence is that the German generals—the men who allegedly "stood above politics"—themselves looked for and found a Chancellor. Von Papen, who himself did everything possible to make Hitler Chancellor, acknowledges the key role played by the Wehrmacht in his book *The Path to Power:* "The Wehrmacht was the decisive factor.... That is why I want to say that it was not just a particular clique of generals that were responsible for the events that led to January 30, 1933. The entire officers' corps demanded a government headed by a strong man."**

The idea that the Reichswehr and the Nazi Party should join forces had a sound ideological basis. No German bourgeois party mirrored the programme of German militarism as clearly as did Hitler's party. Some generals—the most fanatical representatives of their caste's predatory pattern of thought—were angered by the very thought that Nazism was the author of all aggressive doctrines. That is why Field Marshal Rundstedt in his evidence at Nuremberg declared:

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* *I.M.T.*, Vol. XVI, p. 244.

** Quoted from Jarzy Sawicki's *Als sei Nürnberg nie gewesen...* Berlin, 1958, S. 301.

"The National Socialist ideas ... were usually ideas which were carried over from old Prussian times and which we had known already without the National Socialists."* One cannot but agree after studying the views of General von Seeckt, one of the precursors of the Hitler regime. It was from him that the Hitler clique borrowed much in the compilation of their predatory programme. Nor was this denied by the future leaders of Nazism. Göring listened attentively to the evidence of the generals at Nuremberg who *post factum* sought to pose as opponents of the Hitler regime. He could not agree; he was not so ambitious as to want to claim all the credit for the seizure of power for the Nazi Party. He recalled the significant conversation with von Schleicher, then leader of the German generals. But he did not remember that the generals had done anything to hinder the seizure of power. Schleicher had on the contrary offered a tempting alliance. During those January days in 1933, Göring recalled, Schleicher had made the following proposal to him and the future Chancellor. "It would serve the purpose better if he [Schleicher—*the authors*] ... were to join us to form a Government now, quite definitely not on a Parliamentary basis of any kind, but rather on the basis of an entirely new situation, a coalition of the Reichswehr and the N.S.D.A.P."**

* * *

Among the voluminous papers of General von Seeckt, now in the United States National Archives, there is a memorandum written in the general's own hand dated 1915. It sets out the aims of Kaiser Germany in the First World War. A reading of it immediately brings to mind Operation "Barbarossa" and the Nazi plans for a "Greater

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* *I.M.T.*, Vol. XXII, p. 294.
** *Op. cit.*, Vol. IX, p. 249.

Reich in the East". General von Seeckt writes of the "conquest of ten thousand square miles, expelling the population, except, of course, Germans. Russia has a lot of room for them, particularly in magnificent Southern Siberia. ... Form: Kingdom of Ostmark under Eitel Friedrich. Free distribution of vastest lands to a million or more veterans who want to become colonisers, the size growing with the rank.

"Once there are 200 millions of healthy and mostly German people on 200 thousand square miles of soil, say in the year 2000, we shall be at least somewhat secure."

Von Seeckt goes on: "This war will probably cost us a million men, among them the best. ... Against this what does it mean to expel 20 million men, among them a lot of riffraff of Jews, Poles, Mazurians, Lithuanians, Letts, Estonians, etc.?

"We have the power to do it; and we have been plunged into conditions which in terms of blood and destruction leave the age of migration far behind; hence, let us behave according to the customs of the age of migration."*

So the "honour" of discovering the "theory" of the conquest of Lebensraum, the colonisation of the conquered territories by representatives of the "higher German race" and the destruction of the Slavs as an "inferior" race belongs not to Hitler alone, but also to the founder of the Reichswehr, General von Seeckt.

The Third Reich was a powerful political and military machine. It was personified by the Nazi Party and the Armed Forces. Through these it sought to achieve its aims.

This was made clear by the Nazi General Reinecke: "The two pillars of the Third Reich are the Party and the Armed Forces, and each is dependent on the success or downfall of the other."** The German militarist tradition

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* Gustav Hilger and Alfred G. Meyer, *The Incompatible Allies*, New York, 1953, pp. 191-92.

** *I.M.T.*, Vol. XXII, p. 272.

preceded Hitlerism by many decades. "When Hitler came to power, he did not find a vacuum in the field of military affairs. He found a small Reichswehr and a body of professional officers with a morale and outlook nourished by German military history," noted Col. Taylor, U.S. Prosecutor at Nuremberg.*

This morale, needless to say, was the result of the predatory activities of the German military caste during the Franco-Prussian War, and on the battlefields of Europe during the First World War. German militarism had also clearly demonstrated its attitude to the German people when it drowned the November 1918 uprising in blood.

The German generals now try to prove that they opposed Hitler's aggressive policy.

But the documents of the Nuremberg Trial also refute this plea. Field Marshal Blomberg, Germany's War Minister, confronted by historical documents, was obliged to acknowledge that the generals saw preparation for a war of revenge as their "sacred duty".

"It was one of the main reasons for the secret rearmament which began about ten years before Hitler's seizure of power and intensified under Nazi rule."**

As early as 1926—seven years before Hitler's accession to power—General Heye declared to Seeckt from whom he took over the command of the Reichswehr:

"You have again put Germany in the saddle. It remains only for me to keep her there."***

The generals not only did not oppose the giant rearmament programme; whenever in their opinion Hitler's Government did not make sufficient money available, they voiced their dissatisfaction. That was how the War Minister and Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces, General Field Marshal Blomberg, acted on August 31, 1936

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* *Op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 391-92.

** *Op. cit.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 464.

*** Waldemar Erfurt, *Die Geschichte des deutschen Generalstabes von 1918 bis 1945*, Göttingen, 1957, S. 110.

when in a letter to Göring he protested against what he considered inadequate allocations for the Armed Forces in the 1936-37 budget. "Additional expenditure for the Army is required chiefly owing to the remilitarisation of the Rhineland, the fortification of the Rhineland, the setting up of all the 36 divisions already by October 1, 1936, the speeding up of motorisation, particularly the establishment of four fully motorised infantry divisions."*

The German General Staff called upon the Hitler clique to make haste with rearmament. They did so in order to hasten the fulfilment of their aggressive plans. Two or three years before the famous Hitler conferences at which the Nazi programme of aggression was finally formulated, the German General Staff began to draw up plans for attacks upon neighbouring countries. On May 2, 1935, Blomberg in a directive addressed to the Supreme Commander of Land Forces Colonel General Fritsch, the Supreme Commander of Naval Forces Admiral Raeder, and to the Reich Minister of Aviation Göring, "regardless of the present unsatisfactory state of armaments" in Germany and bearing in mind that this position would improve, instructed them to prepare for Operation "Training" (*Schulung*) directed against one of the countries of South-East Europe. The directive laid down that the operation must be "carried out by a surprise attack with lightning rapidity".**

A few years later, when concrete aggressive plans had already been drawn up and to a certain extent implemented against some European countries, the generals considered it their duty to begin the long-term planning of the aggressive policy of Hitler Germany. How did the "peace-loving generals" envisage Germany's future?

The generals now try to prove that Germany lost the

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* Peter de Mendelssohn, *Design for Aggression. The Inside Story of Hitler's War Plans*, New York, 1946, pp. 3-4.

** *I.M.T.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 485.

war because of Hitler's unquenchable aggressive greed, which confronted the German High Command and its Armed Forces with the task of winning world domination—something clearly beyond their strength. But let us hear what Admiral Carls has to say. In September 1938 he, as a representative of the High Command of the German Navy, posed the following task for German militarist policy:

"If ... Germany is to acquire a position as a world Power, she needs not only sufficient colonial possessions but also secure naval communications....

"... Both requirements can only be fulfilled in opposition to Anglo-French interests and will limit their positions as world Powers.... The decision to make Germany a world Power therefore forces upon us the necessity of making the corresponding preparations for war.

"... War against England means at the same time war against the Empire, against France, probably against Russia as well, and a large number of countries overseas; in fact, against one-half to one-third of the whole world."*

The Luftwaffe experts did not lag behind those of the Navy. In 1937 they drew up proposals for the organisation of the German Air Forces up to 1950. The proposals were based on the inclusion of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and the Baltic coast as far as the Gulf of Finland within the German frontiers. The Luftwaffe was therefore to be organised in seven groups, of which four would be based in Germany itself—Berlin, Braunschweig, Munich and Königsberg—and the other three in Vienna, Budapest and Warsaw. Confronted by these and many other facts, von Blomberg had to admit at Nuremberg that "before 1938-39 the German generals were not opposed to Hitler. There was no reason to oppose Hitler, since he produced the results which they desired. After this time some generals began to condemn his methods

* *Op. cit.*, Vol. XIX, p. 410.

and lost confidence in the power of his judgement. However, they failed as a group to take any definite stand against him, although a few of them tried to do so and as a result had to pay for this with their lives or their positions".* That is why when some prominent generals tried to deny their responsibility for the planning and launching of aggressive war and the commission of war crimes, Jodl, red with rage, could be overheard during an intermission saying to his attorney: "Then those generals who are squealing on us as witnesses to save their damn necks ought to see that they are just as much criminals as we are, and just as liable to hang! They needn't think that they can buy themselves off by testifying against us and then saying they were only little clerks!"** The generals and admirals remembered their "disagreements" with Hitler only when the prophecies of Blomberg and Carls had burst like soap-bubbles, only when Hitler Germany was already in ruins. Not till then did they begin to proclaim from the house-tops that they had "opposed" Hitler and his party. Such attempts were also made during the Nuremberg Trial. Grand Admiral Raeder was unsparing in his expressions of loyalty to the Nazis when the Hitler regime was at the height of its power. On March 12, 1939, speaking in the Berlin State Opera House, he declared: "The Führer has shown his people that in the National Socialist solidarity of the people lies the great and invincible source of strength, whose dynamic power ensures not only peace at home but also enables us to release all the Nation's creative powers.... The Armed Forces and the Party thus became more and more united in attitude and spirit."*** Six years later, when Raeder had changed the comfortable office of the Commander-in-Chief of the Navy for a solitary confinement cell in the Nuremberg Prison, he suddenly began painfully to remember

* *I.M.T.*, Vol. IV, p. 414.
** G. M. Gilbert, *Nuremberg Diary*, New York, 1947, p. 104.
*** *I.M.T.*, Vol. V, pp. 281, 282.

something he had never thought of before—his disagreements and conflicts with Hitler. He did not, of course, remind the Tribunal that the aggressive attack upon Norway was his idea and that he, Raeder, suggested it to Hitler.

Raeder's thoughts slid over individual countries. Hitler planned to invade Britain—no, it would be better not to recall that, for Operation "Sea Lion", the plan for the invasion, had been drawn up by Raeder himself. How, then, could he prove his differences with Hitler?

Eureka! Raeder at last remembered one serious conflict which had almost led to his retirement from the post of Commander-in-Chief of the Navy. One of Hitler's naval adjutants wanted to marry a girl who lived in Kiel and who had a somewhat undesirable reputation in the university. Raeder opposed the marriage with characteristic obstinacy. The issue was put very sharply: either the adjutant gave up the idea of marriage, or he—Raeder—left the Navy. This storm in a teacup abated. Hitler gave the officer permission to marry the young lady of his choice, but removed him from Raeder's sight, so Raeder remained head of the Navy.

Raeder, it is true, also told the Tribunal of another incident. In March 1945, when the Soviet armies had already crossed the Oder, and the armies of the Western Allies were already across the Rhine, he met his old friend Dr. Gessler, who came back from a concentration camp. Dr. Gessler told the Admiral that during his first interrogation he had been tortured, and that his hands still bore the traces. "That," to quote Raeder's own words, "was the first time that I heard that anywhere in Germany anybody was tortured. . . . I went, together with my wife, to the lake which was behind our house, and tore off my Party emblem and threw it into the lake. . . . I could not tell it to the Führer."* Those who heard this evidence,

* *Op. cit.*, Vol. XIV, p. 218.

or those who now read it do not know which is the most amazing—the cynicism with which the lies were uttered or their brazenness. But clearly, as the Soviet forces were approaching his home, the Grand Admiral decided that the golden emblem of the Nazi Party was not the sort of regalia he needed when he gave himself up to the Soviet forces. But for all that, some two months before Germany's unconditional surrender, he threw it into the lake in secret.

One of the major German war criminals now at liberty, Grand Admiral Dönitz, published a book in 1958 called *Ten Years and 20 Days*. The ten years were those from 1935 to 1945, when Dönitz commanded the U-boat fleet, and was subsequently appointed by Hitler as the head of all German naval forces. The 20 days were the period during which Dönitz, as Hitler's successor, was head of the German Government. Dönitz sets out to prove that he, as a regular officer, was always non-political. So, too, were the German Armed Forces. Therefore they were not responsible for the misdeeds of the Third Reich and "no one should insult the soldier of the last war". That is what the Grand Admiral has to say about the "non-political" generals. But he sang a different tune when the Third Reich trampled a large part of Europe under the jackboot:

"*Sir David Maxwell-Fyfe* (British Prosecutor at the Nuremberg Trial): 'From the very start the whole of the officers' corps must be so indoctrinated that it feels itself co-responsible for the National Socialist state in its entirety. The officer is the exponent of the state. The idle chatter that the officer is non-political is sheer nonsense. That is your view, is it not?'

"*Dönitz:* 'I said that. . . .'

"*Sir David Maxwell-Fyfe:* '. . .Your speech on Heroes' Day, March 12, 1944. You say this: "What would have become of our country today if the Führer had not united us under National Socialism? Split parties, beset with the spreading poison of Jewry, and vulnerable to it because

we lacked the defence of our present uncompromising ideology, we would long since have succumbed under the burden of this war and delivered ourselves up to the enemy who would have mercilessly destroyed us.'' ''*

Dönitz was obliged to admit that was indeed what he had said.

The leaders of the Wehrmacht were not puppets in the hands of Hitler. The American prosecutor at Nuremberg, General Taylor, correctly described the relations between the generals and Hitler: "If the generals owed their opportunity to rebuild the Wehrmacht largely to Hitler and the Nazis, it is very true that Hitler was utterly dependent on the generals for carrying out his plans. Brauchitsch has pointed out that 'the carrying out of the orders that were given to the Army and to the army groups required such a high knowledge of military matters, and such ability and psychological understanding, that there were only a few people who were actually able to carry out such orders'.... They embarked on the war with the utmost determination to carry it through to a successful conclusion."**

THE CORE OF THE MYTH

The scene is Hitler's headquarters on July 20, 1944. The Führer bends over a map-covered table. Beneath it is a delayed-action bomb put there by Colonel Stauffenberg. The device functions—but the Führer is fortunate: he is blown through the door by the blast wave and escapes with shock and minor scratches. The hunt for the plotters begins. Officers and even some high-ranking generals, including Field Marshal Witzleben, are sentenced to death. Here we reach the core of the myth of the generals' opposition to Hitler.... The scene changes: the officers and

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* *I.M.T.*, Vol. XIII, p. 392.
** *Op. cit.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 282, 286.

generals in the Gestapo cells. The grim details of the executions are new proof of Hitler's pathological cruelty.

Such is the romantic aura with which militarist propaganda now surrounds the events of July 20, 1944, with the aim of presenting the plotters, and in particular the generals, as "heroes of the Resistance Movement".

But the facts and the documents tell another story. German Big Business, aided by the generals, put Hitler into power and supported the policy of German fascist imperialism while it yielded military successes. Then, on the brink of catastrophe, they tried to jump off the band wagon in the hope of preserving the foundations of monopoly capitalist rule. That was the social significance of the events of July 20, 1944.

The conspirators believed that there was only one way out of the critical situation that confronted them: get rid of Hitler, declare him responsible for all the ills, misfortunes and defeats—just, incidentally, as they do now—and form a government including those who had in the past expressed some measure of dissatisfaction with the actions of the Führer or who had for some reason fallen into disfavour in the Third Reich. General Beck, reputed to be opposed to Hitler, was therefore acknowledged to be the most suitable candidate for the role of chief conspirator. We have already seen the true face of this inveterate militarist who sought to prepare Germany in every way for a ruthless war of aggression, but who rightly feared the establishment of a major anti-German coalition and therefore sought to destroy the chosen victims one by one. That was why Beck feared the consequences of excessive haste. It was not the substance of the aggressive programme, but its methods and time-table that lay at the root of the differences between Hitler and Beck. We have already considered this in detail, but now in connection with the July 20 conspiracy we should again recall the formulation of the differences between the Führer and Beck given by Beck himself: "It is not what

we do that is bad, but how we are doing it." In order to understand the political and social programme of the plotters it is necessary to recall what was the position at the fronts at the time. In June and early July 1944, the German Eastern front collapsed, the most telling blow being inflicted upon Army Group Centre. As a result Soviet forces had reached the frontiers of East Prussia. In the West the Allied landing in Normandy on June 6, 1944 had been completely successful and the Allied troops, taking advantage of their overwhelming supremacy in manpower and equipment and complete mastery of the air, had by the middle of June liberated the key port of Cherbourg. It was obvious to all that the Anglo-American forces would very soon break out of their bridgehead and that the liberation of France was imminent. The plotters realised that the Second World War was irretrievably lost. It was therefore pointless to seek a military decision and necessary to seek a political solution. This was acknowledged in evidence before Hitler's Supreme Tribunal by Dr. Goerdeler, another leader of the plot and a close friend of Gustav Krupp:

"I for my part told them [the officers in the plot—*the authors*] that under present circumstances it remained only to resort to political measures, since it was no longer possible to achieve anything by purely military means."*

What then was the programme of the plotters? But first a few words about its author, Doctor Carl Goerdeler. Dr. Goerdeler's political outlook was formed a long time before 1944. In the days of the Weimar Republic he was a member of the German National Party, one of the most reactionary organisations of the German bourgeoisie and Junkers. As Oberbürgermeister of Leipzig, Goerdeler was in favour of limiting the rights of the Reichstag and restricting the powers of the President; he supported the

* Walter Ulbricht, *Zur Geschichte der neuesten Zeit*, Berlin, 1955, S. 41.

policy of special decrees followed by Brüning and Papen which brought the Weimar Republic to catastrophe. When the fascists came to power, Hitler appointed Goerdeler Price Commissioner, and Goerdeler was for many years a loyal servant of the Third Reich. In his memoirs Schacht tells how Goerdeler's group was made up of conservatives who saw Germany as a barrier protecting Western culture against the East. They considered that the continuation of the war would inevitably bring catastrophe to Germany. Therefore, in their view, a new government—a government without Hitler, Göring or Goebbels—was necessary. Britain and the United States would sign a separate peace with such a government. That is why Goerdeler and his conservative friends, in planning the attempt on Hitler's life, sought to draw officers into the conspiracy.*

In his notes Goerdeler himself criticised Hitler not for his aggressive plans, but because he set aims which were beyond Germany's strength. The aim of Goerdeler and his associates was the preservation of a "Greater Germany", with a strong army which could become the "kernel of European armed forces".**

Goerdeler's notes compiled in 1943 contain an exposition of a "peace programme" which included the demand that the South Germany retain the frontiers established at Munich, including Austria and the Sudetenland. The Southern Tyrol was to be transferred to Germany as far as the Bozen-Meran line. Lithuania was to go to Poland, to compensate her for territory in West Prussia and Poznan taken by Germany.*** Memel was to remain German. In the West, the 1914 frontiers were to be restored with Belgium and France. Thus, Alsace-Lorraine would remain German. The programme contained the demand for the

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* Walter Ulbricht, *Zur Geschichte der neuesten Zeit*, Berlin, 1955, S. 39-40.

** Gerhard Ritter, *Carl Goerdeler und die deutsche Widerstandsbewegung*, Stuttgart, 1955, S. 319.

*** *Ibid.*, p. 571.

return of Germany's colonies. The peoples of Europe were to be united in a "United States of Europe" under the aegis of Germany. Britain was to recognise Germany's hegemony in Europe, giving her a free hand there in return for German recognition of British primacy on the seas and in her relations with the Dominions. It will be seen that Goerdeler's proposals are strikingly similar to those with which Rudolf Hess flew to Britain in spring 1941. To achieve all these aims a separate peace had to be concluded with Britain and the U.S.A. so that all German forces could be concentrated in the East to continue the war against the Soviet Union.* Goerdeler made it clear that his "United States of Europe" could only be built as an association of anti-Communist forces.

It is therefore obvious that there are no grounds whatsoever for considering the group of reactionaries who took part in the July 20 plot headed by Goerdeler as anti-fascists. Goerdeler's programme has now been adopted by the West German revenge-seekers. It forms the basis of the doctrine of Atlantic solidarity, in which the West German forces are the shock troops. Apart from Beck and Goerdeler, the main leaders of the plot who determined its character and policy were General Field Marshals Kluge, Witzleben and Rommel, Generals Stülpnagel and Hoepner, Admiral Canaris and, among the civilians, Schacht and Papen. There is no need to give a detailed characterisation of each of these militarists and reactionaries. We will simply sketch in a few lines indicating who they were.

Witness Bernd Gisevius gave evidence before the Nuremberg Tribunal in which the name of Witzleben occurred.

Just before the Munich deal, on September 27, 1938 "Hitler ordered a parade of the Berlin Army through Berlin. Witzleben had to execute the order. The parade had entirely the opposite effect. The population, which as-

* *Ibid.*, pp. 140 and 571.

sumed that the troops were marching to war, showed their open displeasure. The troops, instead of jubilation, saw clenched fists, and Hitler, who was watching the parade from the window of the Reich Chancellery, had a fit of rage. He stepped back from the window and said, 'With such people I cannot wage war.' Witzleben came home indignant and said that he would have liked to have had the guns unlimbered in front of the Reich Chancellery."* So we have a curious picture: the future "Resistance leader and plotter" Witzleben goes further than the Führer himself. Hitler merely declares—albeit angrily—that with such people he could not wage war; Witzleben wants to shoot them. And this was the Witzleben who, after many years of loyal service to Hitler, finally joined the July 20 plot and, furthermore, was to head the new government as Reich President. Does this not throw revealing light on the real nature of the July 20 events? But today, exploiting the fact that Witzleben was executed on the orders of a Hitler court, efforts are being made to make him into a "hero of the Resistance Movement".

Gisevius was also asked about Field Marshal Erwin Rommel. Rommel enjoyed great popularity among Hitler's generals and in German reactionary circles. Even today endless legends seeking to depict this swashbuckler as a knight without fear or reproach are being built up around his name. Not long before the July 20 attempt on Hitler's life, said Gisevius, Rommel "proposed to us to have Hitler assassinated and then, if possible, Göring and Himmler as well. And, even then, he did not want to join in at the first opportunity, but wanted to stay somewhat in the background in order to allow us to profit by his popularity later on."**

So Gisevius, assessing the Field Marshal's behaviour, concluded that "it would give a wrong picture if Field Marshal Rommel were suddenly to appear in the category

* *I.M.T.*, Vol. XII, pp. 218-19.
** *Ibid.*, p. 245.

of those who fought against Hitler". That is the real Erwin Rommel, another of the "heroes of the Resistance". He recognised only one party—that of the majority. He followed only one banner—that of success, and he always deserted it a few moments before fortune.

The head of the intelligence and counter-intelligence service of the Third Reich, Admiral Canaris, was, according to evidence submitted at Nuremberg, a central figure in the conspiracy. Who was Canaris? He distinguished himself during the bloody week in January 1919 when he took part in the reign of terror directed against the Spartacists. He was a member of the court martial that heard the case of Lieutenant Vogel, one of the murderers of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. It was Canaris who gave Vogel a false passport and money and facilitated his escape. It is not surprising that a man with such a past should completely satisfy Hitler's requirements as head of the intelligence and counter-intelligence.

But Canaris trusted Hitler less than Hitler trusted Canaris. Being by the nature of his work very well informed about the international situation and the real balance of forces in the world political arena, Canaris was very conscious of the strength and weakness of the Third Reich and its potential opponents. He therefore wanted to play his cards in such a way as to ensure that during the Second World War his personal ace should not be trumped under any circumstances. Because he had no principles whatever, Canaris was never embarrassed by such conceptions as country, duty or responsibility for the fate of his fellow-countrymen. So in the great drama of the Second World War, which he saw simply as a political game played on a grand scale, Canaris resolved to back both the Third Reich and the U.S.A. Hitler's "captain of spies" became a valued collaborator of American Intelligence.

The French people remember Stülpnagel as a bloody executioner and sponsor of the infamous law under which 29,660 hostages, among them many outstanding political

leaders and intellectuals, were executed during the occupation.

A few words about the civilian plotters. Papen's lawyer, Kubuschok, submitted evidence that the plotters looked upon von Papen with favour and that it was even intended that he should become Foreign Minister. The new government to be set up by the July 20 plotters was to include von Papen, "pious agent of an infidel regime", who "held the stirrup, while Hitler vaulted into the saddle, lubricated the Austrian annexation, and devoted his diplomatic cunning to the service of Nazi objectives abroad".*

The July 20 plotters also included Hitler's Minister of Armaments, one of the major war criminals sentenced at Nuremberg, Dr. Speer. It was intended that he should retain his portfolio as Minister of Armaments. Finally, Schacht, who was also brought before the Nuremberg Tribunal as a major war criminal, was likewise to be a Minister in the Goerdeler government. He was to be either President of the Reichsbank or Minister of Foreign Affairs. Clearly, the "services" of Schacht "whose wizardry ... made it possible for Hitler to finance the colossal rearmament programme, and to do it secretly" were taken into account.**

That will perhaps suffice to make clear what was the programme of the July 20 plotters and by whose hands it was to be implemented. It was a typical "palace revolution", and when it failed, reactionaries were judged by reactionaries. It is indicative that even in summer 1944 the overwhelming majority of Hitler's generals remained loyal to the Führer to the end. This cannot be denied even by so zealous an apologist of the Hitler Wehrmacht as General Kurt von Tippelskirch in his *History of the Second World War*: "Top-ranking military leaders—and only they could carry out such a plan—felt themselves unable

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* *I.M.T.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 416-17.
** *Ibid.*, p. 416.

to take such a step [i.e., the July 20 events—*the authors*]. Therefore some other force had to take upon itself the fulfilment of this task. This force was found outside the ranks of the senior German officers, among their more impulsive juniors."* Why did the generals not follow the more flexible wing of the reactionary forces which formed the kernel of the July 20 plotters? West German historians and generals are now trying to answer this question. Kurt Tippelskirch in explaining away this fact indulges in vague psychological discussion about sense of duty, the fear of appearing as a traitor to one's descendants and in the hard-to-expose legend about a new "stab in the back".** The real answer is quite different. The overwhelming majority of the generals were so closely tied up with fascism and so deeply involved in its monstrous crimes, and so heavy was their responsibility for all Hitlerism's misdeeds, ranging from the planning, launching and waging of aggressive wars to the annihilation of millions of prisoners of war and civilians, including women and children, that they not unjustifiably believed that the anger of the peoples would put the noose around their necks. They rightly believed that participation in a palace revolution against Hitler during the final stages of the war would not help them to escape just retribution. That their reasoning was correct is demonstrated by the fact that the Allies listed even dead generals who had taken part in the July 20 plot among the major war criminals.

WHAT HITLER'S LAWYER WOULD HAVE SAID

When the minutes of Hitler's secret conferences at which plans for aggression in Europe were drawn up were submitted to the Nuremberg Tribunal, the generals' de-

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* Kurt von Tippelskirch, *Geschichte des zweiten Weltkrieges*, Bonn, 1951, p. 497.

** *Ibid.*

fence counsel attempted to make use of them to rehabilitate their clients. Their arguments, like those of many present-day champions of German militarism, were as simple as they were unconvincing. It was, they asserted, clear from these minutes that the decisive role in the drawing up of the aggressive plans was played not by the generals before the court, but personally by Hitler. It was he who made the long speeches, indicated the countries to be attacked, laid down the time limits, etc. The generals played mere walking-on roles in the drama of world history. But let us for a moment imagine what would have been the situation if Hitler had been in the dock together with the other major German war criminals and if, like the other accused, he had had his own counsel. The task of his counsel would, of course, have been even less enviable than that of the other defence counsel. Never before in the history of legal proceedings had the criminal activity of one man, so tremendous in its scale and monstrosity, been disclosed. That is why Hitler evaded responsibility in so cowardly a fashion, fearing to appear before the court of the nations. Nevertheless, the line of Hitler's defence counsel would have differed little from that of the defence counsel in any case involving a group—the main accused, no matter how serious his guilt, tries to shift responsibility on to his accomplices. One can therefore easily imagine that Hitler's defence counsel would have opposed the generals' attempts to put all responsibility for the compilation and implementation of aggressive plans on to Hitler alone. Even before his first conference with the generals on November 5, 1937, Hitler, his counsel would have pointed out, received a carefully compiled plan of aggression submitted to him by the General Staff. Counsel would not at this point have omitted to submit Blomberg's secret directive "for unified war preparations by the Wehrmacht". Among those taking part in its compilation were Fritsch, Beck, Reichenau and Rundstedt. This directive appeared in its original

form on June 26, 1936, and then in more detailed form on June 24, 1937. In other words, it was drawn up at a time when Hitler had still not become Supreme Commander and did not intervene in or exercise any direct influence over the drawing up of military and strategic plans. The directive was therefore the direct result of the work of the Wehrmacht leaders. Recognising that thanks to the Nuremberg Trial this directive has become public property and appreciating its importance as an indication of the generals' sentiments and activity during Hitler's domination, the generals' present-day champions try either to belittle its importance or deny its aggressive character. For example, *Wehrwissenschaftliche Rundschau*, the military and theoretical organ of the West German militarists, wrote in December 1956 that "the Blomberg directive of 1937 was not a plan for aggression. On the contrary, it was based on exclusively defensive actions".* But this is what Blomberg himself says in the preamble to the directive: "The general political situation gives ground for the belief that Germany need not fear attack from any direction."** Blomberg nevertheless demanded that the German Armed Forces be in a "state of constant readiness for war".

The passages in which Blomberg focuses attention on measures for "concealed mobilisation", which would make it possible "to initiate a war by a surprise attack with the necessary forces and at the required moment"*** are also eloquent. The very essence of Blomberg's directive lay in that it specified plans for future Hitlerite aggression against individual countries. The words quoted above ("to initiate a war by a surprise attack") show clearly that it was not Hitler who taught the generals, but the generals

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* *Wehrwissenschaftliche Rundschau*, Dezember 1956, Heft 12, S. 681.

** *I.M.T.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 734.

*** *Ibid.*, p. 735.

who prepared all the plans for aggressive war for Hitler and evolved the means for their implementation.

Attempting to rehabilitate the German General Staff the defeated German generals assert in their memoirs that the unfortunate thing was that Hitler forced them to fight on two fronts. But, of course, these memoir-writing generals fear the memory of the Blomberg directive as the devil fears holy water, because this document drawn up by the German General Staff itself set out a plan for a war on two fronts. Hitler's counsel would not omit to call the attention of the Tribunal to the fact that the Blomberg directive scrupulously envisaged different variants of such a war. One was a war on two fronts with the main effort directed to the West against France (Operation "Red"), while another envisaged a war on two fronts with the main effort directed towards the South-East (Operation "Green").

"The war against Russia was madness," the defeated German militarists now declare. They allegedly warned Hitler, but he, taking the bit between his teeth, paid no heed. That being so, he alone, and not the generals, bears the responsibility for the catastrophe. The generals, they argue, did everything to prevent Hitler's attack on Czechoslovakia and were opposed to the Anschluss. But these assertions in no way accord with the plans which the generals set down in the directive "for unified war preparations by the Wehrmacht". It was in this directive that the generals foresaw Operation "Green" (against Czechoslovakia) and Operation "Otto" (against Austria). The main aim of Operation "Green", according to the generals' directive, was "by means of the destruction of the hostile army and the occupation of Bohemia and Moravia to exclude a threat to the rear from Czechoslovakia during the waging of war in the West".* Even the Western variant envisaged that the main body of the German Armed Forces

* *I.M.T.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 741.

should be directed against France, while for the time being only defensive measures should be taken against the U.S.S.R.* Those who are today trying to save the face of the German generals do not, as we have noted, like to remember the Nuremberg Trial. This is a pity, because it contains a great deal of interesting material answering the question of whether the German generals took part in the formulation of Hitler's aggressive policy. Hitler was not represented in court by any counsel. But by a curious coincidence Field Marshal Keitel assumed the role. Sitting in the dock, Keitel listened to the evidence of many generals who tried to shift all the responsibility for aggression on to Hitler and himself, as virtually the only German general who played any part in politics. Keitel very well remembered recent history, he had seen and heard these "witnesses" in the quiet of their offices on the Bendlerstrasse and he very well remembered how— but what he remembered he told at Nuremberg. "Up to the end of 1941 the generals were at ease, according to Keitel's evidence, because Hitler's tremendous successes spoke in his favour. But after the first setbacks, differences arose. It is indicative that not one of the senior officers of the General Staff spoke officially of the need to end the war up to or after that moment."** So Keitel corrected the generals' testimony.

"IT IS NOT WHAT WE DO THAT IS BAD, BUT HOW WE ARE DOING IT"

A conference took place in the Reich Chancellery on November 5, 1937. For four and a half hours Hitler discussed foreign politics. Adopting a characteristic pose, Hitler demanded "that his statements be looked upon in

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* *Ibid.*, p. 738.

** *Archives of the International Military Tribunal*, Documents File No. 2, Archive No. 448, 1, p. 17.

the case of his death as his last will and testament".* The American Prosecutor Alderman rightly described this document as "one of the most striking and revealing of all the captured documents". The military leaders were well represented at the meeting in order to hear and discuss Hitler's statement on the most fundamental problems of foreign policy. Those present were: "the Reich Minister for War, General Field Marshal von Blomberg; the C. in C. Army, Colonel General Freiherr von Fritsch; the C. in C. Navy, Grand Admiral Raeder, the C. in C. Luftwaffe, Colonel General Göring...; Colonel Hossbach (the adjutant who took the minutes)." In the presence of these military leaders and as a result of the discussion which took place Hitler clearly formulated the idea of the necessity for Germany to seize living-space. "The German future is ... dependent exclusively on the solution of the need for living-space... The only way out, and one which may appear imaginary, is the securing of greater living-space."** So that those present should be in no doubt against whom they would have to fight in order to secure this living-space, Hitler declared that "German politics must reckon with its two hateful enemies, England and France, to whom a strong German colossus in the centre of Europe would be intolerable".*** Apparently believing that some might not really understand the point that has been made, and that in the contemporary world a war between Germany on the one hand and England and France on the other could not be localised, Hitler felt it necessary to make it clear: "We have to take the following into our political consideration as power factors: Britain, France, Russia, and the adjoining smaller states. The German question can be solved only by way of force, and this is never without risk."**** With these words Hitler

* *I.M.T.*, Vol. II, p. 262.
** *Ibid.*, pp. 263, 265.
*** *Ibid.*, p. 266.
**** *Ibid.*, p. 268.

warned the military leaders that any war must become a world war and that this would inevitably bring certain hazards in its train. He directed the attention of those present to the need to prepare for a Second World War, on the grounds that "the rearming of the Army, the Navy and the Air Force, as well as the formation of the officers' corps, are practically concluded", and that the "material equipment and armaments are modern; with further delay the danger of their becoming out-of-date will increase".* Even then, in November 1937, the conference set as its first aim "to conquer Czechoslovakia and Austria, simultaneously, in order to remove any threat from the flanks in case of a possible advance westwards".** Hitler's long speech and the programme for a series of acts of aggression which he outlined clearly took account of the generals' directive regarding "unified war preparations by the Wehrmacht".

But the reader will justifiably ask, if there was such unanimity between the generals and Hitler regarding the plans for aggression, why were Blomberg and Fritsch nevertheless placed on the retired list? The answer is to be found in the minutes of the November 5, 1937 conference. Blomberg and Fritsch, who had themselves drawn up the programme for Hitler's aggression, hesitated primarily not about its substance but about its timing. Hitler expressed himself in the sense that "Britain, and also France in all probability, have already written off Czechoslovakia and are satisfied that this question will one fine day be settled by Germany".*** Hitler therefore considered that the Western Powers would not interfere in Germany's seizure of Czechoslovakia. Blomberg and Fritsch were not so sure. Neither of them would object, should it be necessary, to a war on two fronts—but only under certain

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* *Ibid.*

** *Ibid.*, p. 269.

*** Friedrich Hossbach, *Zwischen Wehrmacht und Hitler*, Wolfenbüttel und Hannover, 1949, S. 213.

circumstances, i.e., not until the German Armed Forces were ready. In 1937 Blomberg and Fritsch considered that the Wehrmacht still did not have the right to run the risk of a major war on two fronts. They were wholly in favour of the annexation of Austria and Czechoslovakia, but only on condition that British and French non-intervention could be guaranteed. The Wehrmacht leaders clearly understood the danger that a German seizure of Czechoslovakia and Austria constituted for Britain and France. They therefore found it hard to believe that the West would so readily permit Hitler to do what he wanted with these countries. To put it more simply, they were inadequately informed regarding the motives underlying the Munich policy pursued by Britain and France who, seeking to direct Nazi aggression to the East, were capable of so obvious a betrayal of their national interests.

Blomberg and Fritsch had made great efforts to build up the Wehrmacht and their sole anxiety was to ensure that it was not subjected to premature risk. Colonel Hossbach, who took the minutes of the November 5, 1937 conference, noted Hitler's words addressed to the generals—words which indicate the attitude of Blomberg and Fritsch: "I fully understand the desire of the military men that their child [i.e., the Wehrmacht—*the authors*] should not be subjected to a premature test."* Similar fears were also expressed by the Chief of the General Staff of the Army, General Beck.

"1. It is true that Germany needs great living-space both in Europe and in colonial areas. The first can be obtained only by war.... 2. It is true that Czechia within her present frontiers imposed by the Versailles Diktat is intolerable to Germany and that a way must be found to remove her as a source of danger for Germany if necessary with the aid of military force. But in the latter case action must be crowned with success. ... 3. It is true that France will

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* Friedrich Hossbach, *Zwischen Wehrmacht und Hitler*, S. 182.

always hinder any extension of German domination and must in this sense be considered as her definite enemy. ... 5. It is true that there are many reasons for favouring the speediest possible settlement of the Czech question by force. ..."* These sentiments were expressed not by some Nazi theoretician like Rosenberg, but by General Beck, commenting upon Hitler's programme for conquest discussed at the November 5, 1937 conference.

Need it be added that Beck, Blomberg and Fritsch, today the idols of German militarism, were not in principle opposed to Hitler's aggressive policy? Expressed briefly, their credo, to use the words of Beck, was that "it is not what we are doing that is bad, but how we are doing it".**

But the main thing is that the three *frondeur*-generals got no support from the other generals in this matter. In summer 1938, Brauchitsch, the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, on Beck's insistence convened a meeting of Wehrmacht leaders at which Beck spoke. But Beck's "caution" found no support among the generals, who were ready at any moment to hurl the Wehrmacht into the flames of aggressive war. It was therefore natural that Hitler and Göring, anxious to speed up their aggressive programme and having the unconditional support of the generals, should decide to get rid of Blomberg, Fritsch and Beck, who had shown lack of resolution and "unnecessary caution" regarding the date for the beginning of the war. Such a decision was also encouraged by Hitler's long-standing ambition to take the leadership of the Armed Forces into his own hands and thus draw the Army still nearer to the Nazi Party. On February 4, 1938, Hitler assumed the command of the Wehrmacht, concentrating both political and military authority in his hands. The ominous figures of Keitel and Jodl appeared on the scene

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* Wolfgang Foerster, *Generaloberst Ludwig Beck. Sein Kampf gegen den Krieg*, München, 1953, S. 109.

** *Ibid.*, p. 70.

as Hitler's closest advisers and the direct leaders of the Wehrmacht. The generals fell in behind them, accelerating the pace of Hitler's aggressive policy in every way. A new, less cautious Commander-in-Chief of the army had to be found. Fritsch was replaced by Brauchitsch. Before he was appointed, Keitel had a frank talk with him. Here is an extremely indicative entry from Jodl's official diary: "28. 1. 1938. The Chief of Staff of the High Command of the Armed Forces invited General of the Artillery von Brauchitsch to Berlin in the evening in order to put before him a number of questions and learn whether he was in a position to draw the army closer to the state and its ideas, to take (if necesary) a suitable chief of staff. ... 29.1.1938. The Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces ... spoke with Brauchitsch. He is ready to agree to everything."*

OPERATION "OTTO"

"He is ready to agree to everything" meant that the German military leaders considered that the main preparations had been completed and that it was now possible to begin the bloody redrawing of the map of Europe.

Austria was the first on the list. The plan for the seizure of this country was ready as early as June 24, 1937 under the code name "Operation 'Otto' ". The directive for its execution was signed by Blomberg. It emphasises that the annexation of Austria must be the result of simultaneous and combined preparation for war by all branches of the Armed Forces.

But before Operation "Otto" was carried out Hitler's Government resorted to its usual tactics of blackmail and threats in an attempt to break down the resistance of the Austrian leaders. On February 12, 1938 the Austrian Chancellor, Dr. Schuschnigg, was summoned to Berchtesgaden.

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* *I.M.T.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 360-61.

On the following day General Jodl wrote in his diary that "Schuschnigg together with G. Schmidt are being put under heaviest political and military pressure. At 23:00 hours Schuschnigg signs protocol".* "13 February: In the afternoon General K."—Keitel—"asks Admiral C."—Canaris—"and myself to come to his apartment. He tells us that the Führer's order is to the effect that military pressure, by shamming military action, should be kept up until the 15th."** What was this military pressure? It took two forms. Firstly, at the most critical moments in the talks with Schuschnigg Hitler summoned his generals.

But the military men did not confine themselves to psychological pressure on the Austrian statesmen who had been summoned to Berchtesgaden. They took an active part in the campaign of blackmail, threats and intimidation directed against the entire population of Austria and world public opinion.

Here is an example of the methods used by the generals to achieve this end: On February 14, 1938, Keitel proposed to the Führer that false rumours be spread in order to create the impression of military preparations directed against Austria. To this end he suggested the carrying out of large-scale military exercises, training flights and special winter manoeuvres by mountain troops near the Austrian frontier. He also proposed a vigorous but fictitious radio traffic between Berlin and Munich, the headquarters of the Seventh Military District, thus creating the impression that mobilisation measures were being undertaken. When at Nuremberg Jodl was asked his opinion of the activities of the generals during the negotiations with Schuschnigg, this "honest and blunt soldier", as he liked to describe himself even during the trial, unable to deny the documentary proofs, cynically declared: "I do not think that they [the sham military manoeuvres—*the*

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* *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 406.
** *Ibid.*

authors] are illegal, because I believe that in the gambling of world history, in politics and in war, false cards have always been played."*

The military men drafted the final measures for the practical implementation of Operation "Otto" side by side with the psychological attack. These measures were reflected in the directive of the Supreme High Command of the Armed Forces dated March 11, 1938 drawn up by Jodl and Keitel. The directive declares: "If other measures prove unsuccessful I intend to invade Austria with armed forces ... ready for action on 12th March, 1938 at the latest from 12:00 hours. ... If Czechoslovakian troops or militia units are encountered in Austria they are to be regarded as hostile. ... The Italians are everywhere to be treated as friends, especially as Mussolini has declared himself disinterested in the solution of the Austrian question."**

It is extremely characteristic that "non-political" German generals were concerned not only about the purely military aspect of the preparations for the attack on Austria. As was laid down in the plans for Operation "Otto", military planning was to be co-ordinated with "internal political disorders" in Austria—"disorders" painstakingly provoked by the Austrian Nazis in order to facilitate their country's subjugation. The central figure representing the German General Staff in this provocative activity by the Austrian Nazis was General von Muff, the German Military Attaché in Vienna. The plotters did nothing without his active participation. The German generals prepared the annexation of Austria in a thorough and business-like manner, working in the most varied directions and employing the most diverse methods.

The Munich Agreement which the then leaders of France and Britain and also some American statesmen thought

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* *I.M.T.*, Vol. XV, p. 354.
** *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 411.

would channel German aggression to the East against the Soviet Union gave Hitler the free hand of which he had dreamed, first to increase the might of the Third Reich without spilling a drop of blood and then enable him to strike the first blow where the Nazi plotters thought it most advantageous. They were not slow to take advantage of this splendid opportunity.

OPERATION "GREEN"

Austria was swallowed up and Hitler Germany prepared for its next spring. This time the victim was to be Czechoslovakia.

The German generals, if we are to believe their post-war memoirs, also opposed Hitler's aggressive policy in this case. In his *History of the German General Staff* General Erfurt writes that "Halder ... was fully determined to resist Hitler's war policy by every means".* The generals here take advantage of one extremely important political fact which certainly created favourable conditions for their attempt to evade responsibility for aggression against Czechoslovakia. This fact was most clearly revealed in the dialogue between the American Prosecutor Jackson and the President of Hitler's Reichsbank, Hjalmar Schacht, during the Nuremberg Trial. Jackson declared Schacht to have been an accomplice in the aggression against Czechoslovakia. Schacht denied this and retorted as follows:

"*Schacht*: 'I cannot answer your question for the reason that, as I said, it was no "taking over", but was a present. If someone gives me a present, such as this, I accept it gratefully.' "

So Hitler Germany did not seize Czechoslovakia, but merely took what the Western Powers gave her. On the

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* W. E. Erfurt, *Die Geschichte des deutschen Generalstabes 1918-1945*, S. 201.

basis of this formula, the Hitler generals, both at Nuremberg and after, sought to prove that in the situation then existing they had no need to plan aggression against Czechoslovakia and that in this respect their hands and conscience were clean. Without doubt, the Munich policy of the Western Powers, based on the desire to direct German aggression eastward against the Soviet Union at any price, greatly assisted the Nazis in their annexation of Czechoslovakia. But nevertheless the German generals had long before Munich with characteristic pedantry planned aggression against Czechoslovakia in every detail. This is demonstrated by Blomberg's notorious directive of June 24, 1937 and by a series of secret documents of the German General Staff brought to light during the Nuremberg Trial. Even if the Hitler generals believed they had the support of the West in seizing Czechoslovakia, they were by no means certain that Czechoslovakia herself with her great military potential would not offer resistance. It was also known that the Soviet Union had promised to help her ally Czechoslovakia—promised even if no similar assistance was given by France under the terms of the Mutual Assistance Pact. When the preparations for the attack on Czechoslovakia were being made in the German General Staff neither Halder, the Chief of Staff, nor Brauchitsch, the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, could have known that the Beneš Government, betraying its country's national interests, preferred capitulation to Soviet aid. On the contrary, superficially there were other disturbing facts: the powerful demonstration in Czechoslovakia against such attempted capitulation and the exceptional determination of the Czechoslovak people to defend their freedom and independence arms in hand.

The annexation of Austria took place on March 12, 1938. Within less than a month Hitler and Keitel met in order to discuss plans for the encirclement and annexation of Czechoslovakia. The search for a pretext for a surprise attack on Czechoslovakia was the main item discussed.

The Blomberg Plan of June 24, 1937 had already pointed out that "the task of the German Armed Forces ... is to make their preparations in such a way that the bulk of all forces can break into Czechoslovakia quickly, by surprise, and with the greatest force, while in the West the minimum strength is provided as rear-cover for this attack".* During the second half of 1937 and the first half of 1938 the German generals worked hard on Operation "Green". On May 20, 1938 the General Staff submitted a military directive to Hitler based on this plan. Its basic postulates were: a suitable pretext, adequate political justification and surprise. What is needed, Keitel told Hitler, is an incident on Czechoslovak soil which can be considered sufficient grounds for depicting Germany's attack as having been provoked by the Czechs. Keitel and Hitler concluded that what was needed was "a time of diplomatic clashes, which gradually come to a crisis and lead to war".** The generals recommended the organisation of such a provocation. Simultaneously the General Staff, led by Halder, entrusted its military attaché in Prague with the task of surveying the area of Freudenthal in Czechoslovakia, to the south of Upper Silesia, to find suitable landing grounds.

It is indicative that the German General Staff and its Chief, Halder, sought allies, fearing intervention by the West. On September 6, 1938 Halder had talks with the Chief of the Hungarian General Staff, Fischer, regarding combined operations as part of the Operation "Green". The German General Staff sought a suitable "incident". "The fixing of the exact time for this incident is of the utmost importance," said a General Staff order of August 24, 1938 and noted: "... What a great interest the Wehrmacht has in the incident." The assassination of the German Ambassador in Prague was contemplated. All sentimental con-

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* *I.M.T.*, Vol. III, p. 39.
** *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 275.

siderations had to be put aside because the Wehrmacht had "a great" interest in the incident. At the same time, it was of course necessary to bear in mind the interests of the Luftwaffe and fix a time which would be the most suitable for an air raid on Prague as "retaliation" for the gross provocation committed by the Czechs in "assassinating" the German Ambassador.

At this time the High Command of the Air Force was in a state of feverish activity, for it was the Air Force that had the last word. Jodl's diary of September 8, 1938 contains a record of a conference with Luftwaffe generals. The final preparations were discussed, including the necessary incident. The names of those taking part are listed: Jodl, and the generals Jeschonneck, Sternburg and Kammhuber. Kammhuber . . . remember the name. We shall return to it. . . . The generals discussed a query from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs: should all German citizens be recalled from Czechoslovakia in good time? But the generals were firm. The "incident" must not be placed in jeopardy for the sake of a few score German lives. And what about the diplomatic representatives of other countries in Prague? No, no one was to be warned. The generals wanted the raid to be a complete surprise. Therefore on August 24, 1938 they wrote: "Even a warning of diplomatic representatives in Prague is impossible before the first air attack, although the consequences could be very grave in the event of their becoming victims of such an attack (that is, the death of representatives of friendly or confirmed neutral powers)."*

Meeting followed meeting in the General Staff. Colonel General von Brauchitsch reported on plans for troop movements, while General Halder gave a detailed time-table to four German armies.

During these last days the German General Staff was also troubled by one other factor. The end justifies the

* *I.M.T.*, Vol. III, p. 55.

means: that being so, the means must be the most ruthless in order rapidly to break down the resistance of the enemy. What then of the generally recognised rules of international law? The General Staff certainly did not intend to ignore their existence. It was necessary merely to be well prepared for any possible reproaches regarding their infringement. And the German generals had not the slightest doubt that they would be infringed. So a unique document made its appearance in the Bendlerstrasse. It examined in detail the possible infringements of international law and set out the corresponding refutations to be given by German propaganda. The document itself was set out in the form of a chart. On the left-hand side were the possible infringements, and the second column contained concrete examples of incidents. In the third and fourth columns indications were given as to the attitude to be taken regarding such infringements. Here are some examples of such incidents:

"First: In an air raid on Prague the British Embassy is destroyed.

"Second: Englishmen or Frenchmen are injured or killed.

"Fourth: On account of a report that the Czechs have used gas, the firing of gas projectiles is ordered. . . .

"Tenth: in the course of their duty, German aircraft fly over Polish territory where they are involved in an air battle with Czech aircraft."*

The document goes on to provide the "explanations" which should be given following these gross violations. To refute accusations regarding the use of gas by the Germans, "it must be given out in public that it can be proved that the enemy was the first to violate the prohibition . . . the gas attack is to be represented only as the need for carrying out a justified reprisal, in the same way as the Italians did in the Abyssinian War". In the event of the

* *Op cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 59-60.

violation of Poland's territorial integrity, "an attempt at denials should first be made; if this is unsuccessful a request for pardon should be made on the grounds of miscalculation of position . . .",* etc., etc. That was how the German generals "opposed" Hitler's aggressive policy and tried to "prevent" its implementation!

How often these generals, particularly those of them who now command the Bundeswehr, have tried to shift all the blame on to Hitler and Himmler, the Nazi Party, the S.S. and the S.D.! This falsification is exposed simply by the one example of the preparation of aggression against Czechoslovakia, which demonstrates that all levels in Hitler Germany, including the Nazi Party and the punitive agencies, were in fact subordinated to the instructions of the General Staff. Is not this demonstrated by the most secret memorandum that Keitel sent to Hess and Himmler for the guidance of Nazi Party officials? It reads: "Within the framework of these mobilisation measures it is necessary for the Armed Forces authorities to issue demands to the various Party authorities and their organisations which are connected with the previous issuing of the mobilisation order, the advance measures or special code names.

". . . The Supreme Command of the Armed Forces further requests that all measures not provided for in the plans which are undertaken by Party organisations or police units, as a result of the political situation, be reported in every case and in plenty of time to the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces."**

Subsequent events are common knowledge. Chamberlain and Daladier in Munich and Beneš in Prague did everything to make Hitler's annexation of Czechoslovakia "bloodless". But the part played by the German military caste in this base act of aggression will live for ever in history.

* *I.M.T.*, Vol. III, p. 61.
** *Ibid.*, p. 65.

"I SHALL GIVE A PROPAGANDISTIC CAUSE FOR WAR"

Hitler Germany carried out the General Staff's directive of June 24, 1937 to the letter. Now came the turn of Poland. The history of this aggression, which marks the beginning of the greatest tragedy the world has known—the Second World War—is common knowledge.

Since their defeat, the German generals have tried to persuade the world that the events of September 1, 1939 were merely the result of political clashes between Britain and Germany, that the General Staff had been confronted by a *fait accompli* and that the German generals did not want war. In his *Lost Victories,* Hitler's Field Marshal Manstein wrote that on the eve of the invasion of Poland the General Staff allegedly had no thought of aggression while the Supreme Command of the Wehrmacht "had never even discussed the question of aggressive war against Poland".* Furthermore, Manstein seeks to convince his readers that it was not Hitler Germany that prepared aggression against Poland, but Poland which tried to attack East Prussia. In his history of the Second World War, the West German military historian Walter Görlitz declares that the German General Staff knew absolutely nothing about the preparations for the attack on Poland; they were known only to Hitler, Himmler and Heydrich. The German generals, it appears, merely followed the diplomatic developments with alarm. It was the politicians on both sides who proved unable to ease the mounting tension between Germany and Poland. The responsibility lay with Ribbentrop and Henderson, the British Ambassador in Berlin. The trouble, the story goes, was that when Ribbentrop and Henderson met at midnight on August 30, 1939 in Berlin, Ribbentrop did not convey the German terms to Henderson in written form; he merely rapidly

* Erich von Manstein, General Feldmarschal, *Verlorene Siege,* Bonn, 1955, S. 15.

read three sheets of paper written in German. Although Henderson demanded the document, Ribbentrop refused, anxious to prevent agreement at a decisive moment. On the other hand, Paul Schmidt, the interpreter of the German Foreign Office who was present during this conversation, confirming in his evidence before the International Tribunal that Ribbentrop merely read over "those pages", expressed surprise that Henderson did not ask him to translate the German terms which had been read. Thus, the politicians made war inevitable. And, when a country is dragged into war, it is the patriotic duty of the Armed Forces and their General Staff to defend their country against attack—attack because Poland had even during the negotiations instigated all kinds of bloody provocation on the frontier, culminating in an outright attack on German territory. This is asserted not only by the German generals, but also by the "impartial" historians of other countries. In fact, the Frenchman Maurice Bardèche in his *Nuremberg, or the Promised Land* written in 1948 declared that "German historians will in the near future throw light on the Polish provocations and atrocities which took place prior to the German attack and about which the indictment says nothing".*

But what the generals did not want was that someone should at any time "throw light" on the part they played in the launching of criminal aggression against Poland—aggression which became the overture to the Second World War. But the Nuremberg Trial was very far from silent about their role. On the contrary, on the basis of abundant documentary evidence, the German generals were presented to the world as being among those mainly responsible for the grim tragedy. Those who were present at Nuremberg will not easily forget the powerful speech of the British Prosecutor, Griffith-Jones, in which he step by step laid bare the criminal role played by the German gen-

* Maurice Bardèche, *Nuremberg ou la terre promise*, Paris, 1948, pp. 61-62.

erals in the preparation and launching of Hitler Germany's aggressive war against Poland. Time and again he returned to the ominous directive dated June 24, 1937 drawn up by Blomberg, Fritsch and other leaders of the German General Staff which set out the detailed programme for Hitlerite aggression during the coming years. The German military caste were well aware of Hitler's official statements in which he tried to persuade the world that after the settlement of the Czechoslovak question Germany had no further territorial claims in Europe. But in the inner circle of the German General Staff intensified preparations for an attack on Poland were already under way in autumn 1938.

The Supreme Command of the Wehrmacht published its first directive to the German Armed Forces regarding these preparations on November 24, 1938. On April 11, 1939 the General Staff issued an order headed "Directive for the Uniform Preparation of War by the Armed Forces for 1939-40". The order laid down that "preparations must be made in such a way that the operation can be carried out at any time from lst of September 1939 onwards". The preparations continued at an accelerated pace. The generals merely smiled when they heard Hitler's speech to the Reichstag on April 28, 1939 in which he declared that "Germany ... has not called up a single man and had not thought of proceeding in any way against Poland.... The intention to attack, on the part of Germany, ...was merely invented by the international press".* The preliminary stage which ended in May 1939 culminated in a conference in the Reich Chancellery on May 23. The minutes of this vital meeting to discuss the political situation and future aims were taken by an adjutant, Lieutenant Colonel Schmidt. The original came into the hands of the American Prosecution during the Nuremberg Trial. The military leaders were widely represented at the meet-

* *I.M.T.*, Vol. III, p. 220.

ing. Those present included Field Marshal Göring, Grand Admiral Raeder, Colonel Generals Brauchitsch, Keitel, Milch, General of Artillery Halder, General Bodenschatz and Rear Admiral Schniewindt. Hitler, taking the extensive preparatory work carried out by the generals for granted, warned them that "further successes cannot be attained without the shedding of blood. ... We cannot expect a repetition of the Czech affair. There will be fighting".* But the generals agreed with Hitler not only about an attack on Poland, but also about the launching of a European war. That is why the question of the treatment of neutrals was formulated without ambiguity: "The Dutch and Belgian air bases must be occupied by armed forces. Declarations of neutrality cannot be relied upon."** The conference did not confine itself to this. It set down the intentions of the German militarists in detail: "If Holland and Belgium are successfully occupied and held, and if France is also defeated, the fundamental conditions for a successful war against England will have been secured."*** What were these "fundamental conditions for a successful war against England"? A clear answer was given: first it was necessary to destroy the British Navy, to attack Britain from the air and then she would immediately capitulate. To destroy the British Navy the conference accepted the principle of unrestricted U-boat warfare and total blockade of the British Isles. This plan for aggressive actions against the British people concluded tersely but expressively: "The aim will always be to force England to her knees."****

On June 22, 1939 the Supreme Command of the Wehrmacht "submitted to the Führer and Supreme Commander a preliminary time-table for Operation 'White' [the plan for the invasion of Poland—*the authors*] based on the

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* *I.M.T.*, Vol. II, pp. 279-80.
** *Ibid.*, p. 281.
*** *Ibid.*, p. 283.
**** *Ibid.*, p. 284.

particulars so far available from the Navy, Army and Air Force".* All the preparatory measures were virtually completed by August 12-13, 1939. The General Staff considered the Armed Forces ready to invade. On August 22—a week before the outbreak of the Second World War—Hitler again summoned his military leaders to Obersalzburg. The meeting was attended by the Commanders-in-Chief of the Army, Navy and Air Force, and also by the Commanding Generals of armies and army groups. At this conference a much wider circle of military leaders were told what their senior colleagues had already known for a long time. The generals also discussed with the Führer the methods by which the war should be waged. It was decided that the aggressive war should be waged by the most impermissible methods and that every kind of crime should be hailed as valour. Hitler formulated the results of the conference thus: "The victor shall not be asked, later on, whether he told the truth or not. In starting and making a war, not the Right is what matters, but Victory. Have no pity. Brutal attitude. Eighty million people shall get what is their right. Their existence has to be secured. The strongest has the right. Greatest severity. Quick decision necessary. Unshakable faith in the German soldier."**

On September 1, 1939 German troops invaded Poland and began to carry out Hitler's plan for aggression. On the same day the German Information Bureau's report was published under big headlines: "Poles Attack Gleiwitz Radio Station." The text of this communiqué reads as follows: "German Information Bureau. Breslau. August 31st. Today at about 8 o'clock in the evening the Poles attacked and seized the radio station at Gleiwitz. Forcing their way into the building, they broadcast in Polish and partly in German an appeal addressed to the population. But

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* *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 223.
** *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 290.

within a few minutes they were attacked and driven off by the police, warned by Gleiwitz listeners. The police were obliged to resort to the use of weapons. Some of the raiders were killed."*

The Poles had therefore committed an aggressive attack upon German territory. "The Poles had attacked the radio station of Gleiwitz and blown up a bridge near Dirschau,"** Göring bluntly asserted during the Nuremberg Trial. Since this was not the only "provocative act" committed by the Poles, the German Supreme Command was obliged as a defensive measure to order its forces to prevent these actions by means of an attack upon Poland. That is the official Berlin version.

Now let us check this version against the materials of the Nuremberg Trial. The minutes of the secret conference between Hitler and the German generals which took place in Obersalzburg on August 22, 1939 were placed before the International Tribunal. They contain a record of Hitler's statement. Among other instructions we find the following: "I shall give a propagandistic cause for starting the war, never mind whether it be plausible or not. The victor shall not be asked, later on, whether he told the truth or not. . . ."***

There was silence in the Nuremberg courtroom as the secrets of imperialist aggression were laid bare. Several witnesses who gave evidence regarding the German invasion of Poland referred to some Polish uniforms which the German Supreme Command suddenly required during the last days before the invasion. Keitel pretended that although he knew that such uniforms were sought, he did not know why.

"*Keitel:* 'He [Admiral Canaris, the chief of the German Intelligence—*the authors*] told me at that time that he was to make available a few Polish uniforms. . . . I asked: "For

* Albert Norden, *So werden Kriege gemacht!*, Berlin, 1950, S. 77.
** *I.M.T.*, Vol. IX, p. 471.
*** *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 290.

what purpose?" We both agreed that this was intended for some illegal action.' "* But exactly what sort of an operation, Keitel could not remember. In such circumstances he customarily replied: "Ask Jodl, he is younger and has a better memory." A complete answer was given by Alfred Naujocks, an S.S. man, in his evidence.

"I, Alfred Helmut Naujocks, being first duly sworn, depose and state as follows:

"... On or about 10 August 1939 the chief of the Sipo and S.D., Heydrich, personally ordered me to simulate an attack on the radio station near Gleiwitz, near the Polish border, and to make it appear that the attacking force consisted of Poles. Heydrich said: 'Actual proof of these attacks of the Poles is needed for the foreign press, as well as for German propaganda purposes.' I was directed to go to Gleiwitz with five or six S.D. men and wait there until I received a code word from Heydrich indicating that the attack should take place. My instructions were to seize the radio station and to hold it long enough to permit a Polish-speaking German, who would be put at my disposal, to broadcast a speech in Polish. Heydrich told me that this speech should state that the time had come for the conflict between the Germans and the Poles and that the Poles should get together and strike down any Germans from whom they met resistance." According to Naujocks' evidence, Heydrich also told him that he expected an attack on Poland by Germany in a few days. Naujocks went to Gleiwitz and between the 25th and 31st of August went to see Heinrich Müller, the head of the Gestapo. In order to simulate an attack by Polish soldiers upon German troops, Germans in the approximate strength of a company were to be used. Müller stated that he had 12 or 13 condemned criminals who were to be dressed in Polish uniforms and left dead on the ground at the scene of the incident to show that they had been killed during

* *Op. cit.*, Vol. X, p. 515.

the attack. For this purpose they were to be given fatal injections. Then they were also to be given gunshot wounds. After the assault members of the press and other persons were to be taken to the scene of the incident. A police report was subsequently to be prepared. Everything went according to plan.

Such was the real role of the German military men in the launching of aggression against Poland.

THE BEST HORSE IN OUR STABLE

The Nazi leaders were prepared to commit any provocation in order to give the war the appearance of a "preventive" war. As we have seen, they were even ready to assassinate their own ambassador, or to stage an attack on a German radio station by "Polish soldiers"—anything to justify aggression.

But that was over 20 years ago. Since then weapons have undergone great changes. The possibility of all kinds of provocations to start an aggressive war has likewise increased immeasurably. Today the Hitler generals, who are being given atomic and rocket weapons, will no longer need to assassinate their own ambassadors or simulate enemy attacks on their territory. It will simply be announced that the radar early-warning system detected enemy rockets and the Supreme Command gave the order for retaliation. See then if it will be possible to verify this "propagandistic cause"! All who watch with indifference the rearmament of a Bundeswehr under the command of ex-Hitler generals with the most destructive types of weapons should consider these facts, so terrifying in their simplicity. It is useful to recall the past of those who are now being entrusted with atomic weapons and the means for delivering them—aircraft and rockets—in Western Germany.

... In December 1947 the proprietor of a small grocers' shop in one of the West German towns was reading the

Badische Zeitung. His eye was caught by a small item on the back page: "In the interests of truth and to contribute to improved relations between former enemies the Baden State Chancellery has investigated the bombing of Freiburg and established that it was carried out on the deliberate orders of Hitler."

The shopkeeper flinched, and the paper fell from his hands. Once again he remembered the not-so-distant past.

Who knows how the cities of Western Europe began to perish, who knows when they too took their place in the front line like soldiers? During the "phoney war" it was all quiet both at the front and in the rear. Many thought that the holocaust of Warsaw and the tragedy of Guernica would not be repeated, that none would dare to bomb peaceful cities.

In April 1940 German troops invaded Norway and Denmark. On May 10 they entered Holland, Belgium and Luxemburg. In the opinion of the Supreme Command of the Wehrmacht it was necessary to supplement the blitzkrieg blows of the armoured units and aircraft at the front with the ruthless terror bombing of French and British towns, in order to undermine morale in the rear of the enemy. That was the whole point of the blitzkrieg theory. But unfortunately neither British nor French aircraft even attempted to bomb German towns. How, then, was a "propagandistic cause" to explain away this new violation of international law which would deprive peaceful towns of their ancient immunity and transform them into front-line areas be found?

... On May 10, 1940—the same day that Belgium, Holland and Luxemburg were invaded—bombs fell on the German town of Freiburg. The sirens wailed and the anti-aircraft guns fired, but it was already too late—the aircraft had made off. On the Bismarckstrasse and Breisachestrasse and on the square near the station the ruins of buildings smoked, the blood of the wounded congealed on the stones and the dead lay silent. On that day 57 civil-

ians—men, women and children—were killed and more than 100 wounded. On the same day, the German Radio followed its report of the German invasion of neutral Belgium, Holland and Luxemburg with its version of the tragedy of Freiburg. The ether carried the indignant voices of the German announcers: "Unprecedented raid by enemy bombers ... a violation of international law." The following day the front pages of the German newspapers carried photographs of the victims and the ruins. Under the screaming headline "The Mothers of Freiburg Accuse" it was declared: "This is not war. It is murder, which demands retribution. The Luftwaffe will be forced to retaliate. Henceforward it will retaliate fivefold against British or French towns for every bombing of the German civilian population." On May 11, 1940 Goebbels' assistant, Hans Fritsche, spoke on the radio, accusing the French "air pirates".

There was incomprehension in the French and British General Staffs. It was established that on May 9 and 10, 1940, no British or French bombers had flown over German territory. British and French Air Force officers were puzzled—it was either a mistake or a provocation.

Meanwhile a secret consignment was carried from Freiburg to Berlin, guarded by S.S. men. It consisted of fragments of bombs gathered from the streets of Freiburg. It did not need very skilled experts to establish that the bombs were of German manufacture. They had been carried by German aircraft, bearing the Edelweiss emblems and belonging to the 51st Bomber Squadron, which ironically bore the title "Edelweiss". Later, when the Germans destroyed Coventry, Goebbels again recalled "the ruins of Freiburg".

Many years later it became possible to establish what had really taken place. Hitler needed a propaganda pretext which would enable him to begin terror raids on French and British cities. The matter was entrusted to the "Reich No. 2"—Göring. Göring gave the task of provid-

ing such a pretext to a commander of the 51st "Edelweiss" Bomber Squadron, Joseph Kammhuber, to whom we have already referred. This base crime had to be shrouded in secrecy. The personnel were ordered to bomb a French military base in Denmark. The squadron's course lay over the city of Freiburg, near the Franco-German border. As the German aircraft flew over Freiburg, the pilots heard over the radio the calm voice of their squadron commander, Kammhuber: "You are over the target. Start bombing." The navigators looked at their maps with consternation—according to their calculations they were still far from their targets. Wasn't there some mistake? But the cold voice of Kammhuber, speaking with emphasis, came several times over the radio: "Do you hear me? You are over the target. I order you to start bombing!" So the death-dealing load fell from the aircraft—16 bombs weighing many tons fell on the unsuspecting Freiburg.

Only in 1947 were the German authorities in Baden able fully to uncover all the details of the terrible Freiburg tragedy. Naturally, the news came as a shattering blow to Joseph Kammhuber who had then exchanged the pilot's helmet and joystick for the till and scales of the small grocer's shop which he had bought with his "savings".

Many troubled days passed and the "hero" of the Freiburg operation awaited every post with alarm and trembled at every ring at the door. In any democratic state, a summons for investigation, even a search and arrest would be the natural epilogue to his career. The denouement was swift: one fine spring day Joseph Kammhuber did indeed receive a summons—but not from the investigating bodies. The retired Air Force general was invited to a meeting of the Military Sciences Society made up of Hitler officers who had temporarily become dancing-teachers, P.T. instructors and businessmen both big and small. Kammhuber was invited to lecture on "The Air Force in the Atomic Age". In 1956 the Munich Institute of Contemporary History published a work by one Anton Koch,

dealing with problems of war in the air and edited by the firm hand of Hans Speidel. In it the bombing of Freiburg was described as an "unfortunate mistake" by pilots who had lost their way on a cloudy day under conditions of blind flight. It was the green light for Kammhuber. Very soon he became Commander-in-Chief of the West German Air Force—or, to use his official title, Inspector-General.

Some aspects of the biography of this inveterate German militarist are worthy of study. In 1923 at the time of the first Hitler putsch in Munich, Lieutenant Kammhuber refused to carry out the government's order to disperse the Nazi gangs. In 1928 he was accorded a high honour—General Seeckt admitted him into the holy of holies of German militarism—the camouflaged Reichswehr General Staff, the foundation for the subsequent rapid rearmament of the Third Reich. When in 1933 Göring required a reliable officer to build up the Air Force of Nazi Germany, Kammhuber was sent to him with the recommendation: "We are sending Herr Göring the best horse in our stable!"

So Kammhuber became a close associate of the "Reich No. 2". After his service in the Air Ministry Kammhuber advanced rapidly. He received command of one of the Luftwaffe's crack units—the "Edelweiss" Bomber Squadron. It was he who drew up and signed the order for the destruction of Warsaw in September 1939. Shortly after the Freiburg tragedy, in October 1940, Kammhuber was promoted to the rank of general. He was appointed by Hitler as Commander-in-Chief of the Fifth Air Fleet operating in Norway and Finland. He enjoyed the Führer's special confidence. According to the magazine *Wehrkunde*, Kammhuber was "the chief expert on Air Force organisation".

Now this general-*cum*-provocateur heads the West German Air Force, and is to get atomic weapons and the means for their delivery. Might he not at any moment re-

peat the provocation on a much larger and much more terrible scale, bearing in mind the technical resources now at his disposal? Nor does he himself deny the possibility. This war criminal, this adventurer with general's stars, declares that if he and those like him start operations with the aid of rockets equipped with hydrogen warheads, "the outcome will be decided within the first four days". The people of the world have indeed cause for concern.

THE TURN OF THE SCANDINAVIAN FJORDS

In spring 1959 the Norwegian Defence Ministry placed before Parliament a proposal that officers of the West German Bundeswehr be permitted to join the NATO North-European H.Q. at Kolsas, an Oslo suburb. Norwegian officers were simultaneously to be sent to Holtenau in West Germany, to the headquarters of the NATO staff dealing with the planning of Atlantic bloc operations in the Baltic.

At about the same time the West German Minister of Defence, Herr Strauss, bluntly declared in an article in the magazine *Der Deutsche Soldat* that the establishment of West German naval and air bases in Southern Norway was under consideration.

In this connection, the Soviet Government pointed out in a Note on April 16, 1959 that the Norwegian Government was making concessions to the West German militarists and allowing Norway to be used as a military springboard by the Armed Forces of West Germany. The Soviet Note underlines that the bases were being given to the Bundeswehr which is commanded by generals and officers of Hitler's Army which subjected the Norwegian people to a harsh and humiliating occupation during the Second World War. It should be remembered that the Hitler generals not only played an active part in the planning and execution of aggression against Norway; the very idea of aggression against Norway came from Admiral Raeder.

This was recorded in the judgement of the International Military Tribunal. Even Raeder himself did not deny this. He pointed out that the first meeting with Hitler regarding this question took place on his initiative on October 10, 1939. Admiral Raeder in this went further than the Führer, who at that time considered that an attack upon Norway would be hazardous and preferred that she should remain neutral. The "non-political" Raeder and his Chief of Staff, Schulte-Moenting, used every possible means to convince Hitler of the need for aggression against Norway. They established contact with the traitor Quisling, and introduced him to the Führer. Through him they persuaded Hitler that it was necessary to attack Norway. On February 21, 1940, Hitler appointed General Nikolaus von Falkenhorst to command the operation against Norway. There is a brief note in Jodl's diary regarding this: "Falkenhorst accepts gladly."*

The naval force under the direction of Grand Admirals Raeder and Dönitz with the invasion force on board entered Norwegian waters flying the British flag. It replied to all challenges by the Norwegian military authorities with the claim that it was a friendly British naval force. After the seizure of Norway Admiral Fricke, then head of the Operations Department of the German Naval Staff, wrote in a memorandum dated June 3, 1940 that "the territories of Denmark, Norway and Northern France acquired during the course of the war continue to be so occupied and organised that they can in the future be considered as German possessions".**

Was that all so very long ago? But today the Norwegian Government makes its territory available for the forces and military installations of the West German Army which is led by former associates of Raeder, Dönitz and Falkenhorst.

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* *I.M.T.*, Vol. IV, p. 434.
** *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 288.

The culminating point of the Second World War was approaching. In autumn 1940 the building on the Bendlerstrasse in Berlin, where Hitler's General Staff had its headquarters, resembled an ant-hill. Preparations for the invasion of the Soviet Union were under way. Poland, Denmark, Norway, Belgium, Holland, France, Yugoslavia and Greece lay behind. The German generals were confident of their invincibility and of the perfection of their military doctrine, while the Nazi leadership trusted Hitler's military genius.

On June 22, 1941 the Nazi armies launched war against the Soviet Union. It has been irrefutably established that Hitler Germany's war against the Soviet Union was a blatantly aggressive war. Surely, the reader will ask, the authors do not intend to prove that? Does anyone doubt that Nazi Germany provoked that war? Yes, there are many spiritual descendants of Goebbels who today try to persuade the world that Hitler's war against the U.S.S.R. was defensive or, as Goebbels himself liked to say, "preventive". The West German Minister of Defence, Joseph Strauss, speaking at Tutzing (Bavaria), openly defended the Hitler clique. Without the slightest prevarication Strauss declared that Hitler "bears no responsibility for the attack on the U.S.S.R."; on the contrary, the U.S.S.R. "desired a second world war". Strauss is not alone. The ex-Nazi generals are playing a particularly active part in reviving the anti-Soviet myth of a "preventive war". Nor is this surprising. The point is that the German generals played a particularly active part in the painstaking and punctual drawing up of the aggressive plans directed against the U.S.S.R. This cannot be disputed. Therefore, the answer is simple—since the facts cannot be disputed, they must be presented in a different light. Yes, the generals did prepare for war with the U.S.S.R. and drew up plans for the campaign in good time—but only because

this war was not aggressive but defensive and preventive. Lüdde-Neurath, the former chief of Dönitz's staff, supporting this myth and falsely attributing to the entire German people the belief that the Soviet Union was preparing to attack Germany, writes that the war in the East was considered by almost all Germans as "a fatal national necessity".*

Halder also took up his pen, writing a book called *Hitler as a War Lord.* He, too, asserts that the decision to declare war against Russia was taken by Hitler exclusively on the grounds of Germany's security. "It was very hard for Hitler to decide upon the attack on Russia.... But on the other hand he had the firm and not unfounded belief that Russia was preparing to attack Germany. We also know now from reliable sources that he was right." Now let us look at the diary of this unsuccessful Hitler general submitted to the Tribunal. As early as June 30, 1940, when Western Europe had already been conquered but still long before the November discussions in Berlin, Halder wrote in his diary that "eyes turned to the East". On July 20, 1940 at a conference with Brauchitsch, Halder notes, the question of "taking up the Russian problem vigorously" and "considering a plan for the future operation" was posed.

The ex-Nazi generals felt themselves very uncomfortable at Nuremberg when the prosecutors began to quote such diaries. In fact, Strauss, Halder and the other Hitler generals who today preach the myth of preventive war are only repeating what Hitler and Goebbels said before them and what the Nazi leaders asserted at Nuremberg. In developing the preventive war thesis at Nuremberg

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* *Bilanz des zweiten Weltkrieges*, Hamburg, 1953, S. 426.
In this connection it is interesting to recall the following statement by Göring at the Nuremberg Trial: "The German people did not know about the declaration of war against Russia until after the war with Russia had started. The German people, therefore, had nothing to do with this. The German people were not asked." (*I.M.T.*, Vol. IX, p. 429.)

some Nazis, however curious it may sound, asserted that Nazi Germany could not, even had she wanted, have waged aggressive war because she was not ready for it. This type of historical falsification was resorted to by Field Marshal Milch, once head of the Luftwaffe and a close associate of Hitler and now one of the advisers in the formation of an aggressive West German Bundeswehr. The story about Germany's unpreparedness was designed to prop up the main story of preventive war. The outcome of attempts of this kind may be seen from the following extract from the interrogation of Milch at Nuremberg:

"*Justice Jackson:* 'And now you come here to testify, as I understand your testimony, that the regime of which you were a part put Germany into a war for which it was in no way prepared. Do I understand you correctly?'

"*Milch:* 'Publicly no, I cannot remember any occasion. But I rather think that, also to the gentlemen who now stand accused, the whole question of the war came as a great surprise.'

"*Justice Jackson:* 'You would like to believe that?'

"*Milch*: 'I do believe it, yes.'

"*Justice Jackson*: 'You do believe it. How long did it take the German Armed Forces to conquer Poland?'

"*Milch:* 'To conquer Poland—eighteen days, I believe.'

"*Justice Jackson*: 'Eighteen days. How long did it take to drive England off the continent, including the disaster of Dunkirk?'

"*Milch*: 'I believe six weeks.'

"*Justice Jackson:* 'How long did it take to overrun Holland and Belgium?'

"*Milch*: 'A few days.'

"*Justice Jackson*: 'How long did it take to overrun France and take Paris?'

"*Milch*: 'Two months in all.'

"*Justice Jackson*: And how long did it take to overrun Denmark and take possession of Norway?'

"*Milch*: 'Also a short time. Denmark took a very short

time, because Denmark gave in immediately and Norway gave in in a few weeks.'

"*Justice Jackson*: 'And you testify, and you want this Tribunal to understand you, as an officer, as saying that there was no preparation known to the officers in advance of those movements? Is that your testimony as an officer?'

"*Milch*: 'Pardon, I did not understand you just now.' "*

A book by the ex-Nazi General von Mellenthin was recently published in London. Unlike his defeated comrades-in-arms von Mellenthin acknowledges that preparations for the attack upon the Soviet Union began in Germany at the end of 1940. But according to him, the war does not therefore cease to be preventive. It continued to be a preventive war because these preparations allegedly began after the failure of the negotiations between the Soviet Union and Germany in Berlin in November 1940. Hitler had allegedly become convinced of the Soviet Union's aggressive intentions vis-à-vis Germany and ordered "the Wehrmacht to make preparations for Operation 'Barbarossa'—the invasion of Russia".

For ten months the International Military Tribunal painstakingly studied the vast archives of Hitler's Government and of the German General Staff. It listened attentively to hundreds of important and extremely well-informed witnesses, in particular those who had drawn up the aggressive plans of Hitler Germany. The Tribunal heard the pleas of Ribbentrop, Jodl and others regarding "preventive war". And it firmly rejected this plea and wrote into its verdict that Hitler Germany's attack on the Soviet Union was carried out "without the shadow of legal excuse. It was plain aggression". These words are backed by hundreds of weighty and incontrovertible facts.

During one of the sessions of the International Tribunal the Soviet Prosecutor submitted Field Marshal Paulus'

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* *I.M.T.*, Vol. IX, pp. 77-78.

statement addressed to the Soviet Government in which he, the former deputy to the Chief of the General Staff, laid bare the picture of criminal aggression against the U.S.S.R. Barely had the Prosecutor begun to read this important document before there was agitation in the dock and among the defence counsel. Göring, Keitel, Jodl and their counsel exchanged whispers. Then one of the defence counsel took the floor and, addressing himself to the Court, objected to the reading and acceptance of this document. The defence demanded that the witness be brought to Nuremberg. What did they hope to gain by this? The presence of Paulus was of course unnecessary—furthermore, he constituted a threat to the accused. He knew too much, since he had personally taken part in the compilation of Operation "Barbarossa". And, furthermore, his attitude was well known. It was a snap decision. The defence would demand Paulus' appearance at Nuremberg, the Russians would refuse, and the Court, in response to a plea from the defence counsel, would not permit the reading of his statement. But the defence was caught unawares. In reply to a question from the President of the Court, the Soviet Prosecutor calmly declared that he was ready to provide an opportunity for Paulus to be examined before the Court. Once again there was commotion among the accused and their defence counsel. It was still hoped that the delivery of Paulus would take too long (after all, Siberia was a long way off). There followed a reply which somehow did not immediately register. Paulus was there, two storeys lower down and could be at the disposal of the Court and the defence within a matter of minutes. "The Russians dropped a bomb," foreign correspondents commented subsequently. All saw the defence counsel turn to Göring, seeking instructions. Then came a new lawyer's trick: The defence had been misunderstood, it did not insist on the personal examination of Paulus, since this would prolong the trial unjustifiably. So the defence considered that there was no need to waste time either

on Paulus or on the reading of his statement. The disjointed arguments of the lawyer angered even the very calm, restrained President of the Court, Lord Lawrence. Paulus took the stand.

The chief Soviet Prosecutor, Roman Rudenko, began his examination. Replying to Rudenko's questions, Paulus told the Court: "On 3 September 1940 I took office with the High Command of the Army as Chief Quartermaster I of the General Staff. As such I was deputy to the chief of the General Staff. ... When I took office I found ... a still incomplete operational plan dealing with an attack on the Soviet Union. ... The Chief of the General Staff ... Halder turned over to me the continuation of the work which was ordered by the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces. ... The operational plan which I just outlined was completed at the beginning of November and was followed by two military exercises with the command of which the General Staff of the Army entrusted me. Senior officers of the General Staff of the Army were also assigned."*

Who were these senior officers? "The further work on the plan was undertaken by the head of the Operations Department, Colonel Heusinger, who was directly subordinate to the chief of the general staff. On February 3, 1941, Hitler on the basis of a report drawn up by Brauchitsch and in the presence of Keitel and Jodl at Berchtesgaden approved the first directive regarding the strategic deployment of the 'Barbarossa' forces. Also present was the chief of the Operations Department Heusinger who accompanied Brauchitsch, Quartermaster-General Wagner, General Gurke, the chief of transport, and I."

Perhaps the General Staff had received alarming reports from the Eastern frontier? "It was noteworthy that nothing was then known of any preparations by Russia," Paulus replied. So the myth about the preventive war was

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* *I.M.T.*, Vol. VII, p. 254.

exposed by a German Field Marshal who had helped draw up the aggressive "Barbarossa" Plan.

The defence and the accused were so shaken by the evidence given by Paulus that they were not ready to begin cross-examination. Defence counsel asked for a long adjournment in order to recover themselves. Only on the following day did defence counsel make a few wretched attempts to undermine the impression made by the evidence that Paulus had given. The defence began to remind Paulus that he also had to answer to the Court and then put the provocative question: "... You are said to be or to have been a teacher at the Military Academy in Moscow. Is that correct?" This question gave rise to discussion in the lobbies: "Apparently the counsel who asked it doesn't know who won the war. So far as can be judged, the Soviet Army defeated the German Army. Therefore it would be natural for German generals to hear lectures from a Soviet general, rather than the reverse."

If we are to believe the present-day falsifiers, the Soviet Union was obviously preparing to attack Germany, and one of the most important proofs of this was allegedly the exceptional and threatening concentration of Soviet troops on the German frontier. It was this circumstance which on the night of June 22, 1941 the German Ambassador cited as the pretext for the attack upon the U.S.S.R. ("the concentration of Soviet forces on the German frontier has reached proportions which the German Government can no longer tolerate"). Here then we had a strange story. The preparations for war against the Soviet Union began in the summer of 1940. Apparently the mythical concentration of Soviet forces on the German frontier began then too.

During examination, Göring stated that he learnt of the plan for the invasion of the Soviet Union in 1940. But Göring was opposed to war. He considered that first it was necessary to finish the war in the West and only then to attack the Soviet Union. "These were my reasons for

delaying the date," said Göring. Together with him, some other generals like Halder, Brauchitsch, and Rundstedt also tried to dissuade Hitler from war against the Soviet Union in 1941, if they are to be believed. But, the reader will justifiably point out, the Soviet Union, according to the assertions of those who preach the theory of preventive war, was stepping up its preparations to attack Germany, and was concentrating its forces in a threatening manner on the German frontier. How, then, under such circumstances could the German generals, who wrote so much about their duty and their oath, oppose war with the Soviet Union which under such circumstances would certainly not have been aggressive, and how could they speak of the need to postpone the attack on the Soviet Union indefinitely (until the end of the war with Britain), if the enemy was ready at any minute to attack Germany?

According to Paulus, the attack was fixed for mid-May. Then it was postponed at the last minute for more than a month because of the need to invade Yugoslavia "on the way". So even at the last minute the German General Staff did not fear any aggressive action from the East. The then chief of the General Staff Halder, on May 22, 1941, wrote in his diary: "I do not think there is any probability of a Russian initiative." Is it not clear without further commentary that the cold-blooded calculations of the Nazi leaders during their preparations for war against the Soviet Union were possible only provided there was complete confidence that the Soviet Union did not intend to violate its treaty of non-aggression?

This contradiction was skilfully underlined at Nuremberg during one of the examinations conducted by the Soviet Chief Prosecutor, Roman Rudenko. Milch, the Inspector-General of the Luftwaffe, was on the witness stand. Here is a very revealing extract from his examination:

"*General Rudenko:* 'And you assert that Göring did not wish to go to war with Russia?'

"*Milch*: 'That was my impression.'

"*General Rudenko:* 'And why did Göring not want this war against the Soviet Union? This was a defensive war, was it not?'

"*Milch:* 'Göring was opposed to such a war. . . .'

"*General Rudenko:* 'He was opposed also to a defensive war?'

"*Milch:* 'He personally was against any war.' " At this point there was laughter in the court.

The exposure of the preventive war myth becomes still more complete if the man who was the first to broadcast it speaks. This was Hans Fritzsche, the Reich Press Chief, controlling all Germany's 2,300 dailies and all broadcasting. Fritsche gave the following evidence at Nuremberg:

"During the night of 21-22 June, 1941, Ribbentrop called me to a conference in the Foreign Office Building . . . at which representatives of the domestic and foreign press were present. Ribbentrop informed us that the war against the Soviet Union would start that same day, and asked the German press to present the war against the Soviet Union as a preventive war . . . a war which was forced upon us through the immediate danger of an attack by the Soviet Union against Germany." Fritzsche went on to say that "the claim that this was a preventive war was later repeated by the newspapers, which received their instructions from me during the usual daily parole of the Reich Press Chief, and I have, myself, in my regular broadcasts, given this presentation of the cause of the war".

Fritzsche went on to describe how he had organised an extensive campaign of anti-Soviet propaganda in an attempt to convince public opinion that it was the Soviet Union and not Germany which was responsible for the war. "I must, however, state," he was forced to admit, "that we had no documentary basis for accusing the Soviet Union of preparing an armed attack on Germany. In my radio talks I tried especially to instil fear of the horrors of Bolshevism in the hearts of the peoples of Europe

and the German population." So that we shall not have to return to Fritzsche we will quote a statement which he made in his cell to an American officer, Gilbert, and which the latter quotes in his book: "I always said that our guilt in the war against the Western Powers was about 50 per cent, because the Treaty of Versailles had a lot to do with it. But our guilt in the war against the East was 100 per cent—it was reckless and uncalled for!"

So the slanderous assertion that Nazi aggression against the U.S.S.R. was a preventive war was thoroughly exposed at Nuremberg.

THE TRUE FACE OF GENERAL HEUSINGER

Having read in the preceding section Paulus' evidence regarding the chief of the Operations Department of Hitler's General Staff, Colonel Adolf Heusinger, who drew up Operation "Barbarossa", the reader may well ask who is this Heusinger? Is he not the same Heusinger who now occupies a high military post in the Federal Republic, who since July 1957 has been "Inspector-General of the Bundeswehr" and President of the Army Council? He is.

As a member of the Nazi General Staff, Heusinger passed through a good school for the preparation and launching of aggressive wars and the commission of war crimes. He did not play a mere walking-on role in this great human tragedy; he was one of the leaders. The youth of this future general coincided with the last years of the reign of Kaiser Wilhelm the Second, who declared: "I will put a revolver and sabre into the cradle of every little boy, so that the soldiers of the future will learn their trade from an early age."

We have no information regarding whether or not Heusinger's parents carried out the Kaiser's instruction, but throughout his life the young Adolf was attracted by the trade of war. It is true that the pencil and map were always nearer and dearer to him than the sabre and pistol,

and a comfortable General Staff office suited him better than a command post in a front-line dug-out, but after all each has his part to play. Heusinger was barely 17 when he donned uniform for the first time. Adolf and his companions were still junior officers when Germany's leading military theoretician, General Friedrich von Bernhardi, gave them a creed for their future activity. "It is sufficient to look upon a sword with the eyes of a brave man," he said, "to consider its purpose and fearful action in order to realise that war is in itself a sacred task, as useful and necessary as food and drink." For more than four decades Adolf Heusinger has contemplated the sword with the eyes of a "brave man", changing only the office in which the contemplation takes place, but remaining an adherent of the criminal militarist outlook.

The comfortable offices of the General Staff on Berlin's Bendlerstrasse have been destroyed by Soviet artillery, but new ones have been built in Bonn for the staff officers of the Bundeswehr. And until the people burn out the ulcer of militarism the Heusingers will aways find themselves jobs and offices. When General von Seeckt, the Commander-in-Chief of the Reichswehr, found ways of evading the prohibitions of the Versailles Treaty and built up armed forces in such a way that each division could at any time serve as the basis for the formation of another two or three, and in that way lay the foundation for Hitler's future "miracles" regarding the militarisation of the Third Reich, there was naturally a place for Heusinger. In 1927 he was received into the camouflaged General Staff. Summer, 1935 was the time of great rejoicing in the Bendlerstrasse: Hitler, continuing to violate the Versailles Treaty, officially re-established the General Staff. Heusinger became "His Excellency". In 1937, Heusinger was the "First Officer" of the Operations Department of the General Staff of Hitler's Army, and after 1940, the head of that department. It was there, in the Operations Department, with the direct participation or under the direction

of Heusinger that the plans for aggressive wars against Poland, Belgium, France, Holland, Denmark and Norway were drawn up and executed. As we have seen, the plan for the invasion of the U.S.S.R., the notorious Operation "Barbarossa", was drawn up under the personal supervision of Heusinger.

The West German magazine *Spiegel* describes how these plans for Nazi aggression were drawn up: "Heusinger armed himself with several maps on the scale of 1 : 1,000,000, soft pencils, a rubber and cigars, and locked himself in his room: the arrows which Heusinger plotted on the map in the majority of cases remained unchanged after conferences lasting many days. ... Then Heusinger wrote every word which transformed the scheme into a plan of attack."*

But for the sake of objectivity it should be noted that *Spiegel*'s description does not wholly correspond to the facts. The arrows that Heusinger drew on the map did indeed remain unchanged in the aggressive plans sanctioned by the Hitler clique. But the peoples, rising up in the struggle for freedom, peace and democracy, made such radical amendments to these plans that the Heusingers became war criminals accused of the gravest offences instead of world rulers.

After the war the diary of the former chief of Hitler's General Staff, Halder, was made public. This Nazi general carefully and in detail set down all the particulars of the military preparations and staff meetings that preceded the execution of each plan for aggression against the countries of Europe. Halder was "objective" in describing the part played by each general, and he was in no way inclined to stress his own role. The best example of this is his description of the part played by Heusinger. After reading Halder's diary no one will dare to dispute the fact that Heusinger played one of the most important roles in

* *Spiegel*, 1956, Nr. 9, S. 29.

the mechanism of the German Wehrmacht. In the cold language of military reports Halder's diary records Heusinger's participation in the planning of Operation "Sea Lion" against Britain. According to the diary, on October 11, 1940 Heusinger reported on the plan he had drawn up for the invasion of Yugoslavia. On November 7 he reported on the plan for operations against Greece. On December 9, 1940 and January 20, 1941 Heusinger reported on his "Attila" Plan envisaging the occupation of the whole of France in violation of the terms of the armistice signed with the Vichy Government.

Nor did Heusinger ignore those countries whose governments were the friends and allies of Hitler Germany. By the term "alliance" Heusinger understood the alliance between horse and rider. On August 29, 1940 Halder wrote in his diary: "Heusinger ... plan of conference regarding military measures against Rumania." On November 7 we read: "Heusinger ... Bulgaria. The Supreme Command is exercised by Germany, preparation for the dispatch of a tank division to Rumania, permission to start aerial reconnaissance over Bulgaria." Later in the same month Halder notes: "Heusinger. Time-tables announced for Spanish and Bulgarian operations, which are based on those for the Eastern operation."

Need it be added that the talents of this master of aggression and provocation showed themselves to the full during the planning of this Eastern Operation. Heusinger was a Hitler general who not only did not have any doubts regarding the military expedience and successful conclusion of the plan for the invasion of the U.S.S.R., but he in every way assailed those German generals who did express doubts regarding its practicability. This was an expression of the recklessness characteristic of Hitler's close associates.

So Heusinger began to draw up the plan for aggression against the Soviet Union. Evidence regarding his participation in this criminal affair was given at the Nuremberg

Trial by Paulus, who was at that time Halder's deputy. On January 20, 1941 Halder wrote in his diary: "Heusinger. Discussion of directive regarding strategical deployment for Operation 'Barbarossa'." On March 17 he wrote: "Conference with the Führer (myself, accompanied by Colonel Heusinger). Decided to carry out Operation 'Marita' (the plan for the occupation of Yugoslavia, Greece and Albania) as soon as possible."

"Operation 'Barbarossa'.... No failures permissible.... The harshest force must be applied in Great Russia." Throughout the war Heusinger supported Hitler in all matters, and the latter saw in Heusinger his most loyal disciple. Heusinger was a general who supported the continuation of the war even when it had become meaningless to the Nazi fanatics.

Not only did Heusinger take part in the planning and execution of aggression against the U.S.S.R. He played an active personal part in drafting the orders of the German High Command establishing a reign of terror on temporarily occupied Soviet territory.

This is demonstrated by historical documents made public during the Nuremberg Trial. From these it is clear that not only the Gestapo and the S.D. were responsible for the monstrous war crimes of the Hitler regime. The German General Staff and its Operations Department headed by Heusinger also played a most active part. In August 1942 the Supreme Command of the Wehrmacht issued an order confirming and extending Heusinger's powers as chief of the Operations Department. The order laid down that "all questions regarding the campaign against the partisans and the use of security units shall now be dealt with by the Operations Department of the Army's General Staff attached to the Supreme Command of the Wehrmacht".

Documents from the archives of the German General Staff which were at the disposal of the Nuremberg Tribunal completely exposed Heusinger not only as the ex-

ecutive of the monstrous orders of Hitler and the Supreme Command, but also as the author of many other orders whose implementation cost the lives of hundreds of thousands of people. "Seidlitz", "Birdsong", "Burdock", "Panther", and "Griffon" is a far from complete list of the code names of operations against partisans and the local population which were drawn up and carried out under Heusinger's direction. Documents found in the archives demonstrate that before the Nazi executioners drew up the plan for a major operation they submitted it for confirmation to the Operations Department of the General Staff. Only after its confirmation by Heusinger was it put into execution. According to procedure which he himself established Heusinger received daily reports regarding the operations of the punitive detachments. For example, on February 6, 1942 Army Group Centre reported that 3,272 "partisans" had been "rendered harmless". On October 2 the officer in charge of security in the rear areas of the same Group reported the destruction within five weeks of 100,000 "partisans". It is of course well known that the Nazis frequently described the mass slaughter of the population as the "anti-partisan campaign".

On November 11, 1942 Heusinger sent a telegram to the troops: "Execute Supreme Command order dated November 11, 1942." What order was this? It was an order dealing with the campaign against the partisan movement in the East. It was compiled by Jodl and approved by Keitel and one of its points laid down that "each unit commander is personally responsible that all partisans and civilians (including women) caught in action shall be shot or better hanged".

But Heusinger did not want to confine himself to the execution of a directive compiled by someone else. He decided to make his own contribution to Nazi law-making. That was why on August 31, 1942 he himself drew up a directive regarding the utilisation of Einsatzkommandos in the campaign against the partisans. His directive differed

from the earlier order merely in that it called for still harsher and at the same time more refined methods for the annihilation of Soviet people. Heusinger demanded sharp and ruthless action, the laying of ambushes and the destruction of the partisans. Should a local inhabitant by chance enter an area in which an ambush had been laid by an Einsatzkommando, "witnesses ... should be destroyed without any fuss", said the directive.

On August 28, 1942 the 8th Mogilev Partisan Brigade of Hero of the Soviet Union Sergei Zhunin carried out a raid on the railway station of Slavnoye on the main line between Orsha and Borisov. The commander of the rear area of Army Group Centre reported the raid to the Operations Department. He received the reply: "Telegram of Operations Department of the General Staff of the Army to the Command of Army Group Centre 28.8.42 4OM No.11027/42 Top Secret. The Führer demands the carrying out of repressive measures with the use of the harshest measures of intimidation in connection with the partisan attack on Slavnoye station. Report on measures taken."

On August 30, 1942 the Command of Army Group Centre telegraphed to the Operations Department of the General Staff (No. 6744/42 19 hours 45 minutes): "In execution of your telegram No. 11027/42 Top Secret of 28.8.42 I report that in retaliation for the attack by partisans on Slavnoye station it is proposed as repressive measures to take the following action in accordance with your instructions—to shoot about 100 members of partisan detachments and members of their families, suspected of participation in or of assistance to the partisan raid. The homes of these persons will be burnt. The population will be informed of this by radio with the necessary explanations. Preparations have already been made for the execution of these measures. Request their approval."

The reply from the Operations Department to the Com-

mand of Army Group Centre (No. 11074/42 dated 31.8.42 23 hours 30 minutes) read: "The measures you proposed approved. Report on fulfilment."

The inhabitants of the Byelorussian village of Slavnoye still remember how this criminal plan was carried out. This is what happened, according to eyewitnesses.

From the district centre of Krupsk along the Staromoskovskaya Road a column of people—thousands of children, women and old people—moved slowly, surrounded by troops and police. At the bridge over the river Bobr the women were separated and the men were driven further on to the forest beyond the cemeteries. They were to be present during the execution of their relatives. There a grave had already been dug. Seven closed vehicles stood about 130 yards from it. Groups of five or six people were brought from them. Those who had good clothes were ordered to undress and were thrown into the pit and then shot by bursts from automatic weapons.

Among them was a woman with a young baby. There are grounds for supposing that this was the teacher Valentina Chesnovich, an inhabitant of Slavnoye. The young mother clutched the child to her, but the Nazis tore the child away and threw it into the grave alive. The woman was distraught. They tore off her clothes and then threw her after the child. That was how the directive of Adolf Heusinger, Chief of the Operations Department of the Nazi General Staff and until recently Commander of the Bundeswehr, were carried out.

It was not the fault but the misfortune of the peoples that the reactionary circles of the Western countries so easily, rapidly and painlessly succeeded in promoting Heusinger and Co. from the ranks of the war criminals to the NATO Command in Europe. Hitler then, and the leaders of NATO now did not know whither Heusinger's "strategic talent" would lead them. Hitler valued Heusinger's services and, according to the testimony of General Zeitzler, a former chief of the General Staff of the Wehr-

macht, Lieutenant General Heusinger was irreplaceable for the Führer. Thus it was that his name took its place on the list of 30 leading generals each of whom could be moved only with Hitler's personal permission. A Colonel in 1940, Heusinger was by the end of the war already a Lieutenant General and deputy chief of the General Staff. But Heusinger gives the significant title, *Disagreement with an Order*, to his post-war memoirs. He did not, he says, agree with Hitler; he considered his policy and strategy wrong and he even claims to have taken part in the anti-Hitler conspiracy. That is how the Heusingers try to rewrite history.

Nor has Heusinger any cause for complaint today. A loyal servant of the Führer, he now has the firm support of international reaction. He has again resumed his ascent up the military ladder, which was temporarily interrupted in 1945. He not only occupies the top military post in Western Germany, he also bears the senior military rank in the Bundeswehr—general. He is a star not only among the Bonn generals, but also among those of the West—a clear sign of the degeneration of the species.

What conclusions did Heusinger draw from the Second World War? The answer is not difficult to find. On December 3, 1954 when the Paris-Bonn axis still did not exist even in the minds of its creators and Heusinger could still be frank, he sharply chided France, depicting the refusal to use force to change the German frontier as "a concession to France". He added: "If the balance of forces changes, these concessions will be seen to be what in reality they are—that is, temporary."*

When Heusinger considers that the hour for the forcible amendment of the Franco-German frontier has struck, he will clearly move up his forces, without public-

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* *Weißbuch über die aggressive Politik der Regierung der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik*, Berlin, 1958, S. 57.

ity and regardless of the Paris-Bonn axis. That this will be so is demonstrated by the entire history of German militarism.

In autumn 1959, during an examination of the results of Bundeswehr manoeuvres, Heusinger made an aggressive statement reminiscent of the days of Hitler. He called upon the West German Army to be ready to fulfil the same tasks which had confronted the Hitler Wehrmacht during the last war, in particular, for operations "in the broad expanses of Russia". It is noteworthy that despite the obviously provocative character of this statement, it was not in any way condemned by the Federal Government.* A loyal pupil of the German militarists, Heusinger again calls for provocation as a method of creating the opportunity for a "preventive" war and for a blitzkrieg which will bring victory within two or three weeks. While in Hitler's time the theory of the blitzkrieg was based on aircraft and motorised units and failed, today, Heusinger assures his listeners, it will be infallible with atomic weapons using rockets as the means of delivery.

For those who know him there is nothing unexpected about Heusinger's views. During a conversation with Americans, he bluntly declared: "Communism is our common enemy which we can never remake but can always destroy." The defeated Hitler strategist has often spoken thus. He is obviously one of those who are incapable of learning from experience. That is why, thinking aloud in the pages of the revenge-seeking West German newspaper *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, the Commander-in-Chief of the Bundeswehr stubbornly looks not to the future but to the past. Everything that is dear to him has been left behind in the ruins of the Third Reich: "We will keep for the future the old foundations which we had." Our picture of this man would be incomplete if we did not consider one

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* *Pravda*, October 16, 1958. "Memorandum of the Soviet Government to the Government of the Federal German Republic."

very revealing page in his biography. Recently some hitherto undiscovered facts regarding the trial of the participants of the July 20 plot were found in the archives. It was learned that Heusinger, who was at that time acting as Chief of Staff, was told of the preparations for the attack upon Hitler. This was disclosed by Major General Hellmuth Stieff, then chief of the Organisation Department of the General Staff, during the 1944 trial of the plotters. How, then, did it come about that Heusinger not only remained alive, but was in fact completely unaffected by the whole affair? This is all the more surprising when it is recalled that on July 23, 1944, three days after the attack on Hitler, he was arrested by the Gestapo and charged with complicity in the plot.

At the beginning of 1959 the Working Group of Ex-Officers publicly accused General Heusinger in the German press of betraying the July 20 plotters to the Gestapo, thus buying not only his life but also his complete rehabilitation in the eyes of the Nazi Government. This, in substance, is confirmed by Heusinger himself in his memoirs. He recalls how, while under arrest, he, at the suggestion of the Gestapo, described the background to the plot in detail, and also listed its participants. In order that he should be able to do this the Gestapo gave him a room to himself, paper and ink. Soon, in Heusinger's words, he was "unexpectedly released and received by Hitler". The Führer said that he had studied the "memorandum" drawn up by Heusinger in prison, thanked him for it and expressed regret regarding his arrest. It was on these grounds that the newspaper *Neues Deutschland* declared that "Heusinger was a Gestapo spy".

This, then, is the true face of the present head of the Bundeswehr. He has already once stepped over the bodies of his fellow-generals whom he betrayed because his personal safety required it. Such people are capable of anything if it promises them a fitting reward and is a good springboard for the next step forward in their career.

Heusinger has now been entrusted with the command of NATO's striking force, the Bundeswehr. Can it be doubted that he will sink to any provocation in order to launch new aggressive wars, and will not hesitate to strike a blow against his NATO allies if he considers that success will be easier in that direction than in the East. Does not the school through which he passed in the gangster-like Wehrmacht of Hitler's time demonstrate this?

Chapter Two

THE GENERALS AND THE GESTAPO – TWO WORTHY ALLIES

"M. LE SOLDAT ALLEMAND"

On December 10, 1945 those present in the Nuremberg courtroom witnessed an extremely interesting scene. When all the accused had already taken their places after lunch, an American officer escorted Ernst Kaltenbrunner, the head of the Nazi Gestapo, to his place in the dock for the first time. The Nazi hangman had been ill and therefore had not attended the first days of the trial.

Kaltenbrunner expected that he would be welcomed by his neighbours—after all, they had worked together for many years. But, alas, he received a chilly welcome. Kaltenbrunner began to greet his friends. He offered his hand to General Jodl, who demonstratively turned away, although he had earlier considered it an honour to exchange handshakes with the Gestapo chief. Kaltenbrunner had been put next to Keitel. He tried to enter into conversation with him, but the latter pretended he did not hear. Then Kaltenbrunner turned to the Admirals, Raeder and Dönitz. They, too, did not conceal their lack of desire to talk to him. Those watching this scene did not suspect a new myth that subsequently became exceptionally widespread was being born—the myth that the atrocities of the Hitler regime were committed only by the punitive organs of the Third Reich, while the generals had nothing to do with them and did not even know about them. When they by chance came across incidents of this kind, they allegedly took firm action to prevent them. By turning their backs on Kaltenbrunner, Keitel and Jodl, Raeder and Dönitz in-

dicated that all the atrocities, all the mass shootings in the camps, all the crimes committed against the prisoners of war and patriots were the work of the Gestapo and S.S., and that they, the German generals, had absolutely nothing to do with it.

As material evidence a film about Nazi atrocities was shown in the Nuremberg courtroom. After the film, compiled from German reels, had been shown, Keitel was asked his impressions. "It is terrible. When I see such things, I am ashamed of being a German! It was those dirty S.S. swine! If I had known it I would have told my son, 'I'd rather shoot you than let you join the S.S.' But I did not know...," he replied. Then, in 1945, it was clear to everyone in Nuremberg that the comedy of indignation concerning the atrocities staged by Keitel, Jodl, Dönitz and Raeder was the routine tactic of criminals unable to deny the facts. "Our proof will be disgusting and you will say I have robbed you of your sleep. But these are the things which have turned the stomach of the world and set every civilised hand against Nazi Germany. Germany became one vast torture chamber. Cries of its victims were heard round the world and brought shudders to civilised people everywhere. I am one who received during this war most atrocity tales with suspicion and scepticism. But the proof here will be so overwhelming that I venture to predict not one word I have spoken will be denied. These defendants will only deny personal responsibility or knowledge," said Mr. Justice Jackson.*

But after a few years the political situation in the world changed. The ex-Nazi generals, especially those who had "Eastern experience", became worth their weight in gold to the reactionary circles of the West. The ex-Hitler generals and officers flocked into the aggressive Bundeswehr. This caused sharp protests from the public, who very well remembered the atrocities committed by the German

* *I.M.T.*, Vol II, p. 130.

military men. That is why, in order to whitewash the German generals, the myth of their non-participation in the terrorist policy of Nazism during the Second World War was created, the myth that the S.S. and Gestapo were alone responsible. The conscience of the German generals was allegedly clear.

The Judgement of the Nuremberg Tribunal branded the German military men and cited innumerable facts regarding monstrous crimes committed by the Nazi generals. The Tribunal declared that "they have been responsible in large measure for the miseries and suffering that have fallen upon millions of men, women and children. They have been a disgrace to the honourable profession of arms" and "were certainly a ruthless military caste".*

But imperialist propaganda, now having a new task—to rehabilitate the Nazi military caste—is in no way embarrassed. It simply rejects the Nuremberg Judgement, declaring it unproven. One such apologist for the Hitler military men, Maurice Bardèche, in his *Nuremberg, or the Promised Land* wrote: "The aim of my book is to persuade the world that it is impossible blindly to accept the sentence signed by the victors.... At Nuremberg the Germans were condemned on the basis of sophistries and lies. In reality," Bardèche writes, "the German High Command had nothing whatever to do with the atrocities committed by the Gestapo. If we analyse the documents more fully we conclude that it was not the German High Command which was responsible but individual officers who could not control themselves or maintain discipline among their troops when confronted by the provocations of the partisans and the participants of the resistance movement."**

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* *Op. cit.*, Vol. XXII, p. 522.

** Maurice Bardèche, *Nuremberg ou la terre promise*, Paris, 1948, pp. 14, 174-75.

During the trial of Manstein, his defence counsel, the British M. P. Paget, rejecting the charge that Manstein was responsible for atrocities, told the Court that "when we met the Wehrmacht in Africa, Italy and France, we found that they were decent soldiers".* As for the generally known facts regarding atrocities, of these, Paget cynically declares, "there was no evidence". Paget, like the other counsel of the Hitler generals, tried to put all the blame on the S.S. and Gestapo and to depict the generals as resolute fighters for humanity who "showed considerable restraint and great discipline" in action.** The authors of the symposium *The Results of the Second World War*, who include such pillars of German militarism as Guderian and Kesselring, go so far as to assert that the population of the occupied territories "saw the German soldier as their liberator".***

The Nazi General Tippelskirch, the author of a book on the history of the Second World War, waxes enthusiastic about "the discipline and courtesy of German soldiers in foreign countries". It is indicative, he writes, that the offensive word "Boche" which came into circulation during the First World War was no longer used and was in many instances replaced by "*M. le soldat Allemand*".**** The reader will search in vain in such books for even the slightest hint that concentration camps existed in the occupied territories and that millions of innocent people were exterminated *en masse*.

There is a West German magazine called *Die Anklage* which described itself as "the organ of war victims and those deprived of their rights". The magazine published an article entitled: "The Basest Falsification of History."

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* Paget, R. *Manstein. His Campaigns and His Trial*, London, 1951, p. 190.

** *Ibid.*, p. 191.

*** *Bilanz des zweiten Weltkrieges*, Hamburg, 1953, S. 110.

**** Kurt von Tippelskirch, *Geschichte des zweiten Weltkrieges*, Bonn, 1951, S. 109.

What is the "falsification" to which its editors refer? The reader is asked to believe that the Nazis "never killed, never slaughtered in gas chambers, never hung and never shot 6,000,000 Jews". The reader is asked to believe the editors that there were no "gas chambers or other installations for the mass extermination of human beings" in German concentration camps. All the appliances for execution and torture allegedly "on closer examination proved to be installations erected after the war which were not even real but merely stage props".

October 1, 1957 marked the tenth anniversary of the conclusion of the Nuremberg Trial. The revenge-seeking press of West Germany did not miss the opportunity to comment. Was there even a word of condemnation of the major German war criminals, whose monstrous crimes cost the lives of millions of people of Europe and of Germans themselves? No. The *Deutsche Soldaten-Zeitung* took advantage of the date once more to sing the praises of Göring and Keitel, Kaltenbrunner and Jodl, whom it depicted as soldiers who had only done their "duty to their people and fatherland". Another neo-Nazi paper, *Nation Europa*, wrote that they "did not violate a single law existing anywhere".

In the innumerable memoirs by Nazi generals that have flooded the West European book market during recent years, the theory that not only were the German generals themselves innocent of monstrous crimes, but, furthermore, that they in every way opposed and sabotaged the fulfilment of any of Hitler's orders which infringed international law is zealously peddled. If we are to believe Halder and Guderian, Tippelskirch and Kesselring, Manstein and Blumentritt, the German generals were reared in the noble and knightly traditions of warfare and nothing could have been more at variance with their convictions than the ideology of Nazism. But all such arguments are reduced to nothing when confronted by the facts and realities of history.

OHLENDORF V. MANSTEIN

On August 10, 1946 Field Marshal Manstein was brought into the Nuremberg courtroom. He was still a witness, called by the defence to persuade the Court that the German General Staff had no hand in drawing up the Nazi policy of aggression, still less in the atrocities. In summoning Manstein, the defence counsel hoped that he would show by his evidence that the accusations of the grossest violations of international law levelled against the General Staff could be explained only as the result of a misunderstanding. Listen to Manstein and you will see how wrong it would be to charge the German generals with war crimes. "I have been a soldier for 40 years. I come from a family of soldiers and I have grown up with military conceptions.... But our ideal, and that applies to my comrades too, did not lie in the conduct of war, but in the education of our youth to be honourable men and decent soldiers.... That we, the old soldiers, should have led into war for a criminal purpose that youth of ours which was so dear to us, would far exceed any wickedness of which man could be thought capable."* Those were the words used by Field Marshal Manstein, and it is those words and others like them from his evidence that he eagerly quotes in his post-war writings. The present-day German revenge-seekers hail their *beau ideal* and cite him as a model of military duty. In Western Germany Manstein is today one of the idols before which the ex-Nazis, who are so well entrenched in the Bundeswehr, pray.

But let us return to the Nuremberg Trial. There are, said Manstein, "two points of view. The first was the military conduct of the war which we, the soldiers, were carrying through, and the other was—incidentally, on both sides—the ideological conduct of the war which we soldiers were not carrying out, but which was determined by other

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* *I.M.T.*, Vol. XX, p. 626.

factors".* A few years later Manstein, set at liberty thanks to the efforts of his Western protectors, was to write a book called *Lost Victories* in which he was to defend the Hitler generals using the very same words. In fact, he reproduces whole passages of his evidence at the Nuremberg Trial. But not all. Manstein maintains a modest silence regarding some of his own evidence and that of others about him. Nor is this evidence recalled by his admirers among the German revenge-seekers. So it will be all the more useful to recall it here. Manstein knows what the Nazis did in the Soviet Union. But he tries to evade the responsibility.

"*Manstein:* 'Geographically we were limited to the narrow operational areas, and administratively we also had very little to say with regard to them. All police measures were taken by Himmler on his own responsibility.... The economic exploitation was Göring's province. Sauckel was responsible for the recruitment of labour. The examination and registration of art treasures were handled by the special staff of Rosenberg.' "**

He, Manstein, was "of course" opposed to Hitler's racial policy and condemned it. He recalls an incident to demonstrate that he was opposed to the persecution of the Jews. Speaking of the time when he assumed command of his army at Nikolayev he stated: "It was said, without details being given, that earlier, before my time, the S.S. had allegedly shot and killed a few Jews, I believe it was in Bessarabia. That was a rumour about one individual case. As I was leaving the following morning, I gave orders to my orderly officer that the leader of the S.S. was to be told that in the area where I was Commander-in-Chief I would not tolerate any such bestiality."***

In case that it did not suffice to demonstrate the Mar-

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* *Ibid.*, p. 615.
** *Ibid.*, p. 616.
*** *Ibid.*, p. 619.

shal's essential decency and humanity, he told the Court of yet another incident illustrating his attitude to Soviet P.O.W.s:

"*Manstein:* 'But on one occasion, when I was Commander-in-Chief of the army group, I saw a German soldier hitting a prisoner with a stick in order to clear the way for my motor car which was trying to pass the column. I at once stopped and took the man's name, and on the following day I had his commanding officer appear before me and ordered him to punish the man.' "* That is how the Nazi Field Marshal tried to guild his reputation when answering counsel's questions.

But as soon as the prosecutor turned to documents from the archives of the staff of the army which Manstein commanded, we saw a quite different person. The gilt disappeared and those in the court saw a Hitler general who not merely obediently carried out fascist plans for the mass extermination of Soviet people, but who also "creatively" enriched the arsenal of Nazism's misanthropic policy in the occupied territories. Manstein had to admit that he received orders from the High Command demanding that he "spread such terror as is likely, by its mere existence, to crush every will to resist amongst the population". Manstein knew—and confirmed that he knew—that there was an order by General Reichenau, one of the army commanders, that envisaged such harsh treatment of Soviet people that it was circulated to other commanders. Yes, said Manstein, he had received the order. "It was sent to us as an order of Hitler's as a model."** Manstein still did not acknowledge that he had been guided by this order but the painstaking prosecutor's assistant showed Manstein another order and asked him whether he was familiar with it. Manstein was clearly disconcerted. It was not difficult for the Nazi Field Marshal to understand that

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* *I.M.T.*, Vol. XX, p. 611.
** *Ibid.*, p. 641.

as soon as he acknowledged the order to be his, the whole legend of his humanity and his opposition to Hitler's policy of atrocities would crumble. But he had no alternative—the order was signed by him personally and bore the date November 20, 1941. It began with the following words: "Since 22 June the German people have been engaged in a life-and-death struggle against the Bolshevist system."*

A further study of the text of this order shows that Manstein proposed to carry out Hitler's policy of the mass extermination of the Jewish population because "Jewry constitutes the middlemen between the enemy in the rear and the remainder of the Red Armed Forces which is still fighting, and the Red leadership. The Jewish Bolshevist system must be exterminated once and for all". After this section of the order had been read Manstein no longer claimed that he considered the shooting of a few Jews in Bessarabia "bestiality". But Manstein still did not want to acknowledge that, having published such an order, he knew of or encouraged the organised mass murder of Soviet people. Yes, Manstein knew that in the area under his command an Einsatzkommando led by the notorious Gestapo official Ohlendorf was operating. But, he claimed, he did not know what they were doing; it was not under his command, and he was not interested in its activity. Nor did he know that there was any agreement on this matter between army and Gestapo organisations. In short, if atrocities were indeed committed, they were committed by the S.S. and the Gestapo. But unfortunately for Manstein, Ohlendorf himself was arrested and brought to Nuremberg. The prosecutors had such indisputable documentary evidence of Ohlendorf's criminal activities that any denial was absolutely pointless.

He did not deny them, and this caused indignation in the dock. "Ach, there goes another one selling his soul to the enemy! What does the swine expect to gain by it?

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* *Ibid.*, pp. 641-42.

He'll hang anyway," was Göring's irritated reaction to Ohlendorf's evidence.

What was this evidence? Ohlendorf admitted that two weeks before the invasion of the Soviet Union an agreement was concluded between the O.K.W., the O.K.H. and the Reich Security Head Office. Under the terms of this agreement a Gestapo Einsatzkommando was to be attached to each army. This Einsatzkommando would carry out the plan for the mass annihilation of Soviet citizens. Ohlendorf further stated that there existed four operational groups—A, B, C and D. Group D operated under his direction in the Ukraine. "The instructions were that in the Russian operational areas of the Einsatzgruppen the Jews, as well as the Soviet political commissars, were to be liquidated," Ohlendorf declared.

"*Colonel Amen*: 'And when you say "liquidated", do you mean "killed"?'

"*Ohlendorf:* 'Yes, I mean "killed".' "*

And did the army commanders know the purpose of the Einsatzgruppen? According to the evidence of Manstein and other Hitler generals, no. But Ohlendorf corrected the impression thus given: "Himmler told me that before the beginning of the Russian campaign Hitler had spoken of this mission to a conference of the army groups and the army chiefs ... and had instructed the commanding generals to provide the necessary support ... without such instructions to the army, the activities of the Einsatzgruppen would not have been possible."** Ohlendorf added that "... Even though the Chiefs of the Sipo and S.D. had the right to issue instructions to them on their work, there existed a general agreement that the army was also entitled to issue orders to the Einsatzgruppen, if the operational situation made it necessary".*** Ohlendorf and his

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* *I.M.T.*, Vol. IV, pp. 316-17.
** *Ibid.*, p. 317.
*** *Ibid.*, p. 315.

Einsatzgruppen were attached to the staff of the 11th Army, commanded by Manstein. In his statement during the Nuremberg Trial he declared that "in the year between June 1941 and June 1942 the Einsatzkommandos reported 90,000 people liquidated".*

Ohlendorf went on to describe with epic calm how the victims "were collected at one place; and from there they were later transported to the place of execution, which was, as a rule, an anti-tank ditch or a natural excavation. The executions were carried out in a military manner, by firing squads under command".** And what about Manstein? Did he know about all this?

"*Manstein:* 'It was our impression that first of all the S.D. would interrogate such a person and then probably send him to some camp.' "***

But Ohlendorf here again corrected Manstein. He stated that he was guided by the instructions of the Army Command when he carried out the plan for the annihilation of Soviet citizens, in particular Communists and Jews. What is more, the Army Command demanded greater speed.... "In Simferopol the army command requested the Einsatzkommandos in its area to hasten the liquidations, because famine was threatening and there was a great housing shortage."****

It is, however, true that Manstein did not want the army's role in this mass murder to receive too much publicity:

"*Ohlendorf:* 'An order from the 11th Army was sent to Nikolayev stating that liquidations were to take place only at a distance of not less than 200 kilometres from the headquarters of the commanding general.' "*****

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* *Ibid.*, p. 319.
** *Ibid.*, p. 320.
*** *Op. cit.*, Vol. XX, p. 614.
**** *Op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 319.
***** *Ibid.*, pp. 318-19.

Gradually as more and more documentary evidence piled up, Manstein was forced to acknowledge that he not only knew of the existence of Ohlendorf, but even—but let him speak for himself.

"*Manstein:* 'It may be that Ohlendorf reported to me once, and as such reports were usually made towards noon, it is quite possible that I invited him to lunch. . . .' "*

Gradually it became clear that the most cordial relations existed between Manstein, the commander of the 11th Army, and Ohlendorf, the Gestapo official. From time to time Ohlendorf even gave presents—extremely valuable presents—to Manstein's officers. The officers of Manstein's army, in particular, received gold watches from the Gestapo official.

"*Manstein:* 'As far as the watches are concerned, the army administration officer on one occasion reported to me . . . that he had procured a large consignment of watches from Germany.' "**

Here, too, Manstein was lying. The watches were not from Germany. More accurate information on this score was given by Manstein's aide, Ohlendorf. Here is an extract from his cross-examination:

"*Col. Amen:* 'What was done with the personal property and clothing of the persons executed?'

"*Ohlendorf:* 'All valuables were confiscated at the time of the registration or the rounding up and handed over to the Finance Ministry, either through the R.S.H.A. or directly. . . .'

"*Col. Amen:* 'How about watches, for example, taken from the victims?'

"*Ohlendorf:* 'At the request of the Army, watches were made available to the forces at the front.' "***

The reader involuntarily recalls Manstein's words: "I

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* *I.M.T.*, Vol. XX, p. 618.
** *Op. cit.*, Vol. XXI, p. 3.
*** *Op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 320, 321, 322.

have been a soldier for 40 years. I come from a family of soldiers and I have grown up with military conceptions. The example from among my nearest relatives which I had before me was Hindenburg." These were cynical and lying words. The Hitlerite Field Marshal Manstein was no soldier, but a murderer and a looter. If Manstein's lawyer, Paget, had wanted in some measure to alleviate Manstein's guilt, he could have pointed out that he was not alone in looting, but that it was a system accepted in the Nazi Army. He could have submitted to the Tribunal some reports made by the administration directorate of the S.S. to Himmler. Here is one of them. It is headed: "Military Secret. Distribution of 94,000 Men's and 33,000 Women's Watches." It is addressed to "The Reichsführer S.S. Berlin". It reads:

"1. Up to 30.4.1943 received:

94,000 men's watches
33,000 women's watches
25,000 fountain pens
14,000 automatic pencils
3,500 wallets. . . ."

It went on to set out proposals regarding the disposal of all these things taken from the dead. "3. Usable men's watches I propose to distribute in the following manner: (a) each front-line division to receive 500 immediately and a further 500 after 1.10.43. The 'Das Reich' Division and the 'Totenkopf' Division have already each received 500; (b) the U-boat Fleet to receive 3,000 immediately, and a further 3,000 after 1.10.43."

So the picture is clear. The German High Command, like the S.S., kept scrupulous account of the booty and as a reward for their "efforts" gave the Nazi divisions "presents". The advantage of Manstein's position lay in that since the Einsatzgruppen operated in his area, Ohlendorf gave the watches to his officers directly, without first sending them to Berlin.

It was definitely established by the materials of the Nuremberg Trial that Manstein, like the other Hitler generals, played a most active part in carrying out the plan for the mass extermination of Soviet citizens. They were very well aware of and encouraged the shooting not only of adults but also of children. They were very well aware that the ominous gas vans were arriving for the Einsatzgruppen in the areas under their command. This is what Ohlendorf told the Tribunal on this score: "The actual purpose of these vans could not be seen from the outside. They looked like closed trucks, and were so constructed that at the start of the motor, gas was conducted into the van causing death in ten to fifteen minutes. ... The vans were loaded with the victims and driven to the place of burial, which was usually the same as that used for the mass executions. The time needed for transportation was sufficient to ensure the death of the victims.

"*The Tribunal* (Major General I. T. Nikitchenko, Member for the U.S.S.R.): 'In your testimony you said that the Einsatz group had the object of annihilating the Jews and the commissars, is that correct?'

"*Ohlendorf:* 'Yes.'

"*The Tribunal* (Gen. Nikitchenko): 'And in what category did you consider the children? For what reason were the children massacred?'

"*Ohlendorf:* 'The order was that the Jewish population should be totally exterminated.'

"*The Tribunal* (Gen. Nikitchenko): 'Including the children?'

"*Ohlendorf:* 'Yes. ... That was a special order from Himmler to the effect that women and children were not to be exposed to the mental strain of the executions [gas vans were used for this purpose—*the authors*]; and thus the men of the Kommandos, mostly married men, should not be compelled to aim at women and children.' "*

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* *I.M.T.*, Vol. IV, pp. 337-338, 332.

And in order to make it perfectly clear whether or not Manstein knew about these atrocities, Ohlendorf stated that a spectator from the army High Command was present during mass executions.* Manstein and his officers apparently wanted to be sure that the programme for the mass annihilation of the Soviet population was being carried out in accordance with instructions and at the same time did not want there to be any mistakes in counting the loot. But Manstein considered his task in the occupied territories to be wider in scope. He did not confine himself to mass murders. Robbery and plunder were the things which stirred this man who had "grown up with military conceptions". Therefore, he constantly demanded that his subordinates ransack the villages and towns and collect everything possible and send it to Germany. He realised that by so doing he was condemning the population to starvation, poverty and gradual extinction. "Particularly in enemy cities a large part of the population will have to go hungry. Nevertheless nothing ... out of a misguided sense of humanity, be given to prisoners or to the population," he wrote in an order.**

When Manstein was questioned about this order, he tried to deny its existence. Only when shown the original was he obliged to acknowledge his signature, but at the same time he referred to his forgetfulness, saying: "After all, that is not surprising, because that is a number of years ago, and during these years I have signed hundreds, if not thousands, of orders, and I cannot possibly remember every detail."***

That was the figure cut by von Manstein, former Field Marshal of the German Army. From the example of the activities of one Hitler Field Marshal we see the utter falsity of the present-day propaganda of the West German revenge-seekers regarding the "non-complicity" of the

* *Ibid.*, p. 332.
** *Op. cit.*, Vol. XX, p. 642.
*** *Ibid.*, p. 644.

German generals in the monstrous atrocities of fascism during the Second World War.

Today Manstein is one of the major military theoreticians in the German Federal Republic. He is an extremely prolific writer, falsifying the history of the Second World War and inflaming the spirit of revenge. But he is not merely a theoretician—in 1956, as we have already noted, he became a member of the Government's Committee of Experts to evolve the most suitable military structure for the Federal Republic. He no longer has any need to disguise his real nature. Nor does he try to, as once he did at Nuremberg. In 1960 during the Bundestag debates on rearmament, Manstein, calling for the re-establishment and expansion of the Federal Republic's military forces, cynically declared that he very much regretted that he had not hanged by the roadside all those who obstructed the building up of West Germany's military strength.

MY FUTURE IS IN MY PAST

At the beginning of 1958 in Nuremberg, city of the Meistersingers, Albrecht Dürer and the International Military Tribunal, an elderly but still healthy-looking gentleman was carefully studying the well-known West German magazine *Münchener Illustrierte* in the vestibule of a fashionable hotel. During 1957 and 1958 photographs of the Nuremberg Trial, which had already begun to be forgotten by many of the present generation, were republished. The large-size photographs with their hard-hitting captions revived the past—the tragic pictures of Nazi crimes that cost innumerable victims. The elderly gentleman put the magazine down and became thoughtful. It was a mere 12 years since he had been brought to the Palace of Justice in this same city under escort in order to give evidence before the International Military Tribunal as a defence witness in the case of the major German war criminals. A strange past! "Defence witness" under escort!

It was not, of course, surprising, for at that time he was not only a witness, but also a defendant, charged with the gravest war crimes, and facing a tribunal in Venice and a death sentence.

The gentleman smiled ironically; apparently even the dead come to life. Here he was once again in Nuremberg, once again a defence witness—but this time not under escort. This time he was a free citizen of the Federal Republic, a Field Marshal in retirement, a leading military theoretician and historian, receiving a pension, and the honorary President of the largest ex-servicemen's organisation in West Germany, the Stahlhelm. But it is time to go to the Court where his comrades both in spirit and in arms await his help. In the dock was the former commander of the 13th S.S. Army Corps Max Simon and his aide, Sturmbannführer Gottschalk, and four S.S. men. The pages of the indictment rustled and its dry, official language described a grim crime. In the spring of 1945 the armies of the Allies were advancing to meet each other from east and west, while the Third Reich was crumbling, its expectation of life measured not in weeks but days. Why, then, fight for a cause which was both criminal and hopelessly lost? But S.S. General Simon was not just an experienced officer who knew that within a few days the game would be up; he was also a Nazi, closely linked with the Hitler clique by jointly committed atrocities. He expected no mercy from the victors; he was too well aware of his own past. Therefore, because it was to be the end for Simon and his like, the more that would die with them, the happier they would be. That is why, carrying out his orders, two soldiers passed through Brettheim and Rothenburg in spring 1945 on their way to die for the Führer. There were then only two choices for Germans in their hopeless struggle—death or captivity. But these two soldiers gave little thought to the future, for the eldest was 17 and the youngest only 15. In Brettheim they met a miller and a peasant, Hanselmann and Uhl.

"Where are you going?" they asked the two youngsters.

"We are going to fight on the orders of the Führer," said the soldiers. "We are Volkstürmer."

"To fight?" the villagers laughed. "You're fools. Your Führer will soon be *kaput*, and you will die for nothing."

The Volkstürmer had hardly had time to think before their rifles were thrown into the green waters of the village pond.

"And now go home, and thank God that you met us," Hanselman told them.

Soon the local authorities heard of the "crime" committed by Hanselmann and Uhl. Uhl fled, but Hanselmann was tried. He was unwillingly interrogated by the Burgomaster of Brettheim, Gackstatter. The clerk Wolfmeyer kept the record, from time to time looking questioningly at the Burgomaster. Neither wanted to be hangmen, both were fed up with the accursed war which would any day finish in an unprecedented defeat of Germany. So Hanselmann was freed and told to go home.

Rumours about the desertion of the two Volkstürmer, and the part played by Hanselmann and Uhl and also by the Brettheim authorities came to the ears of General Simon. A court martial consisting of five S.S. men was sent to the scene. It was brief and ruthless; among the ancient trees of the Brettheim cemetery a gallows was erected. One after the other the Burgomaster Gackstatter, the clerk Wolfmeyer and the peasant Hanselmann were hanged. The whole operation was directed by S.S. Sturmbannführer Friedrich Gottschalk.

... The elderly gentleman looked round the courtroom with some concern, but soon felt at ease. All the faces were familiar; evidence was given by the confident, erect and smooth-shaven General Simon. The well-fed S.S. Sturmbannführer Friedrich Gottschalk lolled in the dock as though he were at a theatre, not a courtroom. The prosecutor is, of course, Herr Kühn, who in the Führer's time dispatched more than one anti-fascist into the next world.

Then, too, there are the experts—why, this is simply splendid—there is Doctor Brandstätter who during the days of the Third Reich was President of a court martial and who is now a prominent official of the West German Defence Ministry, and Doctor Reinecke, former chief of the S.S. department dealing with courts. The elderly gentleman had no doubts about the conclusions of the "experts". He wanted to encourage his old subordinate, General Simon—but the latter did not seem to be in need of any encouragement. Max had, after all, always been quick-witted. Yes, here the elderly gentleman would be correctly understood. The witness gave his name with confidence: Albert Kesselring, Field Marshal in retirement, and began his evidence—or, more correctly, his speech for the defence, for he knew nothing about the Brettheim tragedy, the Herr Field Marshal had never occupied himself with such petty matters. Kesselring spoke of the ruthless law of war, of the sanctity of discipline which was equally obligatory for 15-year-old members of the Volkstürmer, the Brettheim authorities, the peasant Hanselmann and finally, of course, General Simon. The latter had, after all, merely carried out Kesselring's own order to fight to the finish. The German soldier did not think about the aims and prospects of the war; his motto was ruthlessness and determination, nothing more. The Brettheim victims were traitors.

The judges listened attentively, the prosecutor himself was moved, while General Simon gazed at his old chief with delight. After a six-week hearing, General Simon and his accomplices left the courtroom free men.

After the trial even the West German press could not hush up the case. It cautiously criticised the judges, hinted at the shady past of the experts and spoke disapprovingly of Kesselring, the witness-*cum*-defence counsel. But Albert Kesselring reads these naïve observations with a smile: these people do not understand that here it is not a question of General Simon and his accomplices, but of the

restoration of the authority of the Wehrmacht, which Kesselring, Simon and the murderer Gottschalk had loyally served. This, then, was the secret. Once the Bundeswehr had been re-established with openly revenge-seeking aggressive aims, Kesselring tells the government of the Federal Republic, do not alarm its officers and men by reminders of possible liability for the commission of war crimes—after all, you are training them to commit similar crimes.

... The scene changes to a crowded hall, full of men in grey uniforms with creaking belts, and evil, arrogant faces; cries of "Hoch" and "Heil" are heard and hundreds of throats roar the Nazi hymn: "For today Germany belongs to us and tomorrow the whole world." Some yelled, "We want Lebensraum, forward!" This devil's dance parades past the rostrum on which stands a man with a stony face and long horse's teeth, with the condescending smile of a man accustomed to tributes of this kind. With a tired gaze he watches the ranks going past—it seems as though they are endless—and from time to time lifts his arm in the Nazi salute. Who is this on the rostrum—Hitler? Göring? Goebbels? No, the date is 1956 and we are in the Federal Republic, at one of the rallies of the Stahlhelm, and the man on the rostrum is its Honorary President, the retired Hitler Field Marshal Kesselring. The Stahlhelm is not just one of the soldier's bunds; it is the traditional Praetorian Guard of the German militarists. It was founded in November 1919 by the industrialist Franz Seldte. In 1919-23 detachments of the Stahlhelm drowned Germany in the blood of the workers. In 1923 it entered into an alliance with the Nazis. Its detachments took part in the Hitler pogroms, they smashed the trade unions and murdered democrats. Then the Stahlhelm merged with the military detachments of Nazism, while its leader Seldte became one of Hitler's Reich Ministers.

At the beginning of 1951 the Stahlhelm was revived and generously subsidised by the Ruhr magnates and bankers.

It soon numbered over 100,000. Patronage over the union was assumed by the Schroeder Bank of Cologne—the same Schroeder who in 1932 had played such an active part in financing the Nazi Party to help it into power. This was a noteworthy coincidence. It is not surprising that as early as August 1952, when Kesselring was still serving a prison sentence as a war criminal, he was elected Honorary President of the Stahlhelm.

The programme of the Stahlhelm published on March 2, 1951 is openly revenge-seeking in character. It does not in substance differ from that put forward by the Stahlhelm before the Second World War. It includes the establishment of a fascist-type dictatorship, the banning of democratic organisations and the setting up of an aggressive West German Army. Its newspaper, also called *Stahlhelm*, is printed in Cologne. It publishes revenge-seeking articles and proclamations and studies of the battles fought by the Nazi Army. The motto of the Stahlhelm is: "The best soldiers are those who do their duty to the end, without asking any questions."

In August 1954 Kesselring, as the Honorary President of the Stahlhelm, addressed a conference attended by 800 delegates of the organisation. Kesselring demanded the freeing of all officers and generals still serving sentences as war criminals. We must remember, he said, "that what the Wehrmacht did is now becoming the fundamental policy of the Western Powers. I am seriously concerned," he went on, "lest the future historian of the war in Italy should accuse me, Kesselring, of not making full use of many tactical opportunities because of my too humane attitude." Arousing applause from all present, Kesselring concluded with the following words: "I am confident that the term 'war criminal' no longer applies to me."

So, then, history will condemn not those who saved Kesselring from the noose and gave him the opportunity to rise to responsible positions in the Federal Republic, but Kesselring himself, because he was a "too humane"

and therefore irresolute commander. Kesselring cynically told a correspondent, "My future is in my past." Yes, the Field Marshal has indeed much to look back on. True, at the trials in Nuremberg and Venice he recalled this past unwillingly and under pressure, but that, after all, was in 1945 amid the ruins of the Third Reich. But now we are at the beginning of the 60s; the Bundeswehr is being built up and armed with atomic and rocket weapons, while Nazi ideas are being revived. Why, then, should not Kesselring see not only his future, but also that of the whole West German state in his past?

During the 20s, when the German militarists were secretly rearming, an unprincipled officer, not too particular about the means he employed, gained rapid promotion. His chiefs were General von Seeckt, the creator of the Reichswehr, the leading German militarist, and Hitler's predecessor, General Schleicher, who did so much to help the Führer become Chancellor. It was natural that Kesselring should have welcomed the fascist coup of 1933 which gave the military men such great opportunities with enthusiasm. Relying upon the support of his old friend Göring, Kesselring rapidly ascended the ladder of rank. In September 1933 he was only a colonel. Within six years he was Commander of the First German Air Fleet and within a further two years a Field Marshal. Kesselring was one of the authors of the theory of total war in the air, the essence of which was set out in a briefing to Luftwaffe personnel. "As we fly over the cities and fields of the enemy," it said, "we must suppress all feelings. We must say to ourselves that these people are not human beings, since only Germans are human beings. For the German Air Force there are no 'non-military objectives' or moral considerations. Enemy countries must be wiped from the face of the earth and all resistance crushed." In 1936 the cities of Spain became the first targets for the practical application of Kesselring's doctrine. In 1940 came the turn of British cities: an air armada under Kesselring's com-

mand launched the Battle for Britain. In one of his books the Field Marshal reproduces a photograph: it shows Kesselring together with Göring seeing off the first group of aircraft carrying their death-dealing load to London. There is a satisfied smirk on the faces of both men. Kesselring coined the word "Coventrate"—a word of grievous notoriety. The ruins of Warsaw, Rotterdam, Coventry, London and Paris are the landmarks of his military career. It was his air fleet which in 1941 supported the advance of the German Forces toward Moscow. It was Kesselring's aircraft which in the same year killed thousands of civilian inhabitants in Minsk, Moscow, and other Soviet towns. In October 1941 Hitler promoted Kesselring yet once more, this time to the highest rank of all—he became Commander-in-Chief of German Forces in Italy and subsequently capitulated in May 1945 having in the meantime committed many grave war crimes.

Knowing all this, the victors justifiably put Kesselring in the dock. Let us look at the court records of those days in 1946 and 1947.

On March 13, 1946 Field Marshal Kesselring was examined before the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg.

Mr. Justice Jackson, the chief American prosecutor, asked him: "You understand, witness, in giving your testimony, as to the definition of the High Command and the General Staff, as that definition is included in the indictment, you are accused as a member of that group, do you not?" Kesselring did not then consider it expedient to argue. His reply was brief: "I understand."

"*Mr. Justice Jackson:* 'And that you are testifying here virtually as one of the defendants?'

"*Kesselring:* 'I understand.' "*

The prosecution reminded Kesselring of the Führer's order regarding the campaign against the partisan movement addressed to all Commanders-in-Chief. The German

* *I.M.T.*, Vol. IX, p. 199.

Forces were instructed to wage the struggle "with the most brutal means ... without restriction, even against women and children. ... Any consideration for the partisans is a crime against the German people".* Kesselring admitted that he received such an order and that he himself, as Commander-in-Chief in Italy, issued one of his own, based upon it, on June 17, 1944. This order proposed that the struggle against the partisans should be waged "with all means at our disposal and with the utmost severity. I will protect any commander who exceeds our usual restraint in the choice of severity of the methods he adopts against partisans ... a mistake in the choice of methods in executing one's orders is better than failure or neglect to act".** North of Arezzo, Italian partisans captured a German colonel. As a reprisal, Kesselring ordered the seizure of 560 hostages, including 310 women and children.*** Two German soldiers were killed and a third wounded in a fight with partisans in the village of Civitella. Fearing reprisals, the inhabitants evacuated the village. But when the Germans discovered this, punitive action was postponed. When the local inhabitants returned and were feeling secure once more, the German troops, carrying out Kesselring's order, killed 212 men, women and children. The ages of the dead ranged from one year to 84 years. Approximately 100 houses were destroyed by fire. Some of the victims were burned alive in their homes.

A year after the Nuremberg Tribunal had delivered its verdict on the major war criminals Mr. Justice Jackson's prophecy was realised: Kesselring himself was brought to trial before a British court in Venice in 1947. The prosecution based its case mainly on three orders that Kesselring had issued to his forces.

We have already acquainted the reader with the content of one—that of June 17, 1944. What were the contents of

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* *I.M.T.*, Vol. IX, p. 220.
** *Ibid.*, p. 221.
*** *Ibid.*, pp. 221-22.

the other two? Here is the order of April 1, 1944: "I order that the most ruthless repressive measures be taken against partisans. The largest number of hostages must be taken from among partisans and the civilian population. In the event of attack these hostages should be shot immediately. The centre of population must be burnt and persons immediately and publicly hanged."* The second, that of July 26, 1944, states that "in accordance with the Führer's directive, I order that partisans should not be treated as prisoners of war but should be shot on the spot immediately, and that civilians who aid them should be immediately executed and ringleaders publicly hanged. It should be borne in mind that more than ten Italians should be executed for every killed or wounded soldier".** Both at Nuremberg and Venice it was established that all Kesselring's orders were carried out consistently and with sadistic cruelty. Therefore in May 1947 the British Tribunal sentenced Kesselring to death.

But immediately after the sentence had been pronounced reactionary circles in Britain organised an extensive campaign in defence of the "greatest", most experienced and most capable German commander. As a result, sentence of death was commuted first to life imprisonment and then to 20 years imprisonment. But even this sentence became a fiction and Kesselring was released by the British authorities in 1952 after serving barely five years. The background to his release is clearly seen in letters published in the press on September 26, 1951. One states bluntly that German soldiers have made it quite clear that they will not join a new army while such people as Manstein and Kesselring are in prison.

In November 1954 Kesselring, released from prison, emphasised during a television appearance that the German invasion of Britain in 1940 would have succeeded if the

* Jarzy Sawicki, *Als sei Nürnberg nie gewesen...* Berlin, 1958, S. 329.

** *Ibid.*

preparations had been carried out as well as he, Kesselring, had desired, and if the Nazi High Command had shown the same initiative that it showed in other campaigns. Clearly, the defeated Nazi had in no way changed. Kesselring has a point of view in all matters regarding the building up of the Bundeswehr. In particular, he expressed surprise at the discussion regarding Bundeswehr officers. For him everything is perfectly clear: the example of such inveterate militarists as Friedrich II, Moltke, Hindenburg, Ludendorff and Rommel must be followed. He in passing firmly rejects any talk about the "democratisation of the army". He recommends the use of the old manuals of the Hitler Army, since this would enable officers to exert "due influence" upon their troops.

Fifteen years have elapsed since the end of the Second World War, but the initials "S.S." still arouse revulsion and disgust in every decent man. But the Field Marshal takes a different view. "The purest German blood was represented in the S.S. divisions," Kesselring told British television-viewers in November 1954. "Therefore, the soldiers of these units must not be ostracised. You cannot create a new West German Army without them."

In September 1959 more than 15,000 S.S. men from the crack units of Hitler and Himmler assembled in the picturesque little town of Hameln, near Hanover. The cutthroats who have drenched the towns and villages of Europe in blood met at a rally of H.I.A.G., their "Mutual Aid Association" for ex-S.S. men. Thousands of luxury cars belonging to the ex-S.S. men packed the streets of the little town. And the first greeting, received with a storm of applause, was a telegram from the former Nazi Field Marshals Kesselring and Manstein. Thus the world was given yet one more demonstration of the falsity of the myth regarding hostility between the generals and the punitive organs of the Third Reich.

Such was Field Marshal Albert Kesselring who died in 1961. We felt it necessary to compile this brief obituary

because the life story of this inveterate fascist is typical of that of many other Hitler cutthroats. Suffice it to recall Heusinger, Speidel, Kammhuber, Ruge and particularly General Foertsch, the Hitler hangman who is now commander of the Bundeswehr. Such people not only enjoy freedom in the Federal Republic, they are not only given the right to propagandise their views in the press and in their memoirs—they are also selected for prominent public office; they also "teach" and "educate" the young generation of Germans.

"ASK THAT DIRTY SWINE"

The Nazis' grave crimes against members of the Resistance Movement are common knowledge. The German generals, realising that it was impossible to deny the facts, attempted to evade responsibility and to shift it on to the S.S.

...The Nuremberg Tribunal examined General von dem Bach-Zelewski. An old regular officer, he had served in the days of Wilhelm II. He was subsequently an officer in the Reichswehr and in Hitler's time, joining the Nazi Party, he became a member of the Reichstag. During the Second World War, as an S.S. General, Bach-Zelewski commanded anti-partisan units in the East. But the German generals were no more successful in shifting responsibility for the atrocities against the partisans on to the S.S. during the examination of Bach-Zelewski than was Manstein as a result of the examination of Ohlendorf. Bach-Zelewski was cross-examined by counsel for the General Staff, Göring and Rosenberg. He was also cross-examined by the American Prosecutor, Colonel Taylor, and by the Soviet Prosecutor Pokrovsky. Keitel, Jodl, Manstein and Kesselring all tried to create the impression that the atrocities were committed by the special Einsatzgruppen of the S.D. They hoped that Bach-Zelewski, as the most competent person in this respect, would confirm this.

So Bach-Zelewski took the stand. Replying to Taylor's question regarding which units were used for anti-partisan activities, Bach-Zelewski said: "For anti-partisan activities formations of the Waffen-S.S., of the Ordnungspolizei, and above all, of the Wehrmacht were used."* Bach-Zelewski admitted that he advised on the methods used. It will be recalled that on the pretext of waging the struggle against the partisan movement the Nazis were ruthless in their treatment of the civilian population. Bach-Zelewski's advice concerned this too. But he did not by any means insist that the laurels should be his alone. The participation of Wehrmacht units in anti-partisan activities demanded constant contact with commanding officers, he told the Tribunal. Keitel and Jodl became wary. In reply to Taylor's question regarding the commanding officers with whom he discussed the matter, Bach-Zelewski replied: "I am quoting from memory, without giving a complete list: General of Cavalry Bremer, Wehrmacht commander in the East; General Field Marshal Küchler, commanding general of Army Group North; the commanding generals of Army Group Centre, Kluge and Bush; the Wehrmacht commander in the Ukraine, General of the Luftwaffe Kitzinger; General Field Marshal Freiherr von Weichs...."**

A revealing exchange between Taylor and Bach-Zelewski followed.

"*Colonel Taylor:* 'Did the highest military leaders issue instructions that anti-partisan operations were to be conducted with severity?'

"*Von dem Bach-Zelewski:* 'Yes....'

"*Colonel Taylor:* 'In your opinion, were the measures taken in anti-partisan operations far more severe than the circumstances warranted, or were they not?' "

At this point the leaders of the Wehrmacht sitting in the dock fixed their eyes upon Bach-Zelewski. What would his reply be?

* *I.M.T.*, Vol. IV, p. 477.
** *Ibid.*, p. 478.

"*Von dem Bach-Zelewski:* '... I am of the opinion that the operations often not only failed in their purpose but even overshot their mark.'

"*Colonel Taylor:* 'Did these measures result in the unnecessary killing of large numbers of the civilian population?'

"*Von dem Bach-Zelewski:* 'Yes.'

"*Colonel Taylor:* 'Did you report these excessive measures to the commanders of the army groups and other Wehrmacht officers with whom you worked?'

"*Von dem Bach-Zelewski:* '... Every operation had immediately to be reported in all detail, and was known to every responsible leader.' "*

The evidence of Bach-Zelewski—a death thrust for the German generals—caused an explosion in the dock during the adjournment. Göring was furious. His neighbours could scarcely restrain him. "Why, that dirty, bloody, treacherous swine! He was the bloodiest murderer in the whole goddam set-up! The dirty, filthy *Schweinehund*, selling his soul to save his stinking neck!!"** Jodl, to whom Bach-Zelewski's evidence was of particular concern, went purple. "Ask him if he knows that Hitler held him up to us as a model partisan-fighter!" he blurted out to his counsel. "Just ask that dirty swine!" The "dirty swine" was asked. The question was put by Göring's counsel, Dr. Stahmer. It was really of no great significance, because Bach-Zelewski realised the futility of any attempt to evade responsibility or to deny his own part in what had taken place. But the question was put:

"*Dr. Stahmer:* 'Did you not know that you were particularly commended by Hitler and Himmler and decorated mainly for your ruthless and efficient actions in the war against the partisans?'

"*Von dem Bach-Zelewski:* '... I received all my decora-

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* *Ibid.*, p. 479.

** Bach-Zelewski was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. He has since been released and now lives in Nuremberg.

tions, beginning with the clusters to the Iron Cross II, at the front and from the Wehrmacht. . . .' "*

That was the last answer the defence wanted. But the interesting thing is that both question and answer were true. Keitel and Jodl were clearly disconcerted by Bach-Zelewski's reply. But Bach-Zelewski did not stop at that. He recalled that there was an order that German soldiers guilty of acts of violence against civilians should not be punished by courts martial and that this order was issued not by the S.S. but by the Supreme Command of the Wehrmacht. Neither Keitel nor Jodl asked their counsel to refute this fact.

MORE ABOUT HEUSINGER

In the preceding chapter we recalled the part played by Heusinger in the planning of aggressive wars and in the implementation of these plans. But that is not all. In his evidence before the Nuremberg Tribunal Heusinger was obliged to admit that General Staff officers were well-informed about the methods of suppressing the partisan and Resistance movement and likewise about the directives regarding the shooting of commissars and Communists. He unwillingly testified that "the detailed working out of all matters involving the treatment of the local populace, as well as anti-partisan warfare in operational areas, in pursuance of orders from the O.K.W., was the responsibility of the Generalquartiermeister (Quartermaster General) of the O.K.H."** So the techniques of killing members of the Resistance Movement and prisoners of war were evolved by members of the General Staff. Heusinger was then still a prisoner accused of war crimes, not the Commander-in-Chief of the Bundeswehr, as he now is. Therefore, anxious to evade responsibility, he made use of the

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* *I.M.T.*, Vol. IV, p. 493.
** *Ibid.*, p. 474.

usual technique of criminals: when it is impossible to conceal the fact of the crime, deny any personal part in it. That was how the story that "the O.K.H. was responsible merely for the transmission of these orders [for the killing of members of the Resistance Movement and also of commissars and Communists—*the authors*] to Army Groups"* was born. And Heusinger went on to name Keitel, Hitler and Himmler as the initiators of these atrocities. Confronted by irrefutable facts Heusinger had, however, to admit that he was very well aware of these atrocities, that he was very well aware of the nature of the cause he served and the methods it used. "It had always been my personal opinion that the treatment of the civilian population and the methods of anti-partisan warfare in operational areas presented the highest political and military leaders with a welcomed opportunity of carrying out their plans, namely, the systematic extermination of Slavism and Jewry."**

Thus, as it were in passing, Heusinger refuted the legend that the generals had had no part in the atrocities. The "highest political and military leaders" in fact approved and sanctioned the mass extermination of Slavs and Jews and the other atrocities committed by the occupation forces in the territories which they have seized.

The International Military Tribunal questioned the witness Horst Freiherr von Buttlar-Brandenfels, the chief of the Operations Department of the High Command of the army. This colleague and subordinate of Heusinger [since Heusinger was chief of the Operations Department of the Supreme Command of all the Armed Forces—*the authors*] clearly declared that the Operations Departments of the General Staff were not merely the transmitters of orders regarding the extermination of members of the Resistance Movement and prisoners of war. From Brandenfels' testi-

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* *Ibid.*
** *Ibid.*

mony it is clear that the Operations Department drafted the entire technique of exterminating members of the Resistance Movement, whom they cynically described as "bandits", and prisoners of war. Insofar as Heusinger testified that the "highest political and military leaders" set themselves the aim of exterminating the Slavs and Jews and that he, Heusinger, always considered this to be military madness, the defence counsel for the General Staff, Dr. Laternser, put an "indignant" question to Brandenfels: "How General Heusinger could have arrived at that view?"* Here, too, Brandenfels gave no support to his former colleague Heusinger: he affirmed that he had worked closely with him and had very often talked to him about anti-guerrilla warfare, but had somehow never heard Heusinger describe the methods used as madness, still less object to them.**

So one more stroke is added to the portrait of the Commander-in-Chief of the Bundeswehr.

"I WOULD LEAP LAUGHING INTO THE GRAVE"

Heinz Reinefarth has no cause to complain about his lot. In his declining years he found himself on the pleasant island of Sylt, a West German seaside resort. Sea air and a fine villa are a good reward for a lifetime's labours. Herr Reinefarth enjoys great popularity. He was once visited by movie cameramen. They were making a film about the resort and, naturally, did not fail to include the Herr Bürgermeister. Reinefarth did not conceal that he liked honours and was flattered by their attention. He awaited the appearance of the film in West Germany with eager antitiicipation.

Alas, the Herr Bürgermeister was the victim of a cruel joke. They were not the right photographers. They had

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* *I.M.T.*, Vol. XV, p. 569.
** *Ibid.*, pp. 569-70.

indeed made a film, but if Herr Reinefarth had seen it then his hand would have involuntarily reached to where once upon a time he had worn his pistol. For the film was *Holiday on Sylt* made by the Thorndykes, the famous producers from the German Democratic Republic. It describes the "lifetime's labours" for which Heinz Reinefarth had been rewarded with the comfortable sinecure of the post of Burgomaster of Sylt.

In 1944 the population of Warsaw rose up against the S.S. terror. The city was in flames. Contemptuous of death, the people of Warsaw fought heroically with their executioners. The uprising assumed substantial proportions. Himmler raged. He ordered that the citizens of Warsaw taking part in the revolt should be exterminated. The command of the S.S. units sent to suppress the uprising was entrusted to S.S. Lieutenant General Heinz Reinefarth. Himmler had good grounds for entrusting the operation to Reinefarth. He had gained the confidence of the Reichsführer by his deeds. Heinz was an old Nazi. He had been a legal adviser in the leadership of the Nazi Party. In 1939 Reinefarth was appointed Oberführer S.S. and attached to the staff of the Reichsführer S.S. As early as 1942 Himmler promoted him to the rank of Brigadenführer S.S. and Major General of Police. Serving in this post for a long time in the Warta district he was subsequently promoted to the rank of Lieutenant General S.S. But Heinz Reinefarth achieved real popularity in the eyes of the Hitler leadership when the Warsaw uprising, as a result of his efforts, was drowned in blood.

A former N.C.O. of the Wehrmacht, Willi Fiedler, who was a prisoner of war in British hands, recalled very many things of which he himself had been an eyewitness. He described in detail many crimes committed under the direction of Reinefarth. "The dead were not cleared away," he testified. "I saw how in twos and tens Poles were thrown face down, and others dragged by the hair, after which they were shot. The dead were not cleared away, and the

next group had to climb on the corpses. And so on and so on ... until there were nine or ten layers of the dead piled one on top of the other. Women were shot together with young babies."

Tens of thousands of people were burnt to ashes. Warsaw was destroyed. And Heinz Reinefarth? The Polish Government demanded his extradition as a major war criminal. The British authorities refused. So the hangman of Warsaw escaped the people's wrath and retribution. Many years later, after exhaustive evidence regarding his guilt had been assembled, the West German jurist Professor Hans Thieme, demanded that he be brought to trial. But what in fact happened was that a West German political party, the All-German Bloc, nominated Reinefarth as its candidate in the elections to the Parliament of Schleswig-Holstein. No one—neither the Procurator's Office nor the Federal Constitutional Court—lifted a finger to stop the Nazi hangman who had exterminated tens of thousands of Poles from becoming a deputy.

Furthermore, in the atmosphere of revanche and neo-Nazism that exists in West Germany, calls for the rehabilitation of the S.S. and the Hitler generals are to be heard with increasing frequency. Reactionary propaganda by the revenge-seekers does all in its power to erase the memory of the crimes committed by the S.S. "The S.S. troops are valiant units" and represented the first embodiment of the "European idea", it is claimed. S.S. General Hausser published in West Germany a book entitled *S.S. Troops in Action*, in which, shamelessly falsifying the facts, he writes: "Do not forget that the first supporters of the European idea were in the ranks of the Waffen-S.S." The same Hausser writes that "the S.S. were men with a militant spirit, not criminals". The German sociologist Paetel, now living in the United States, also comes to the aid of Hausser. In his *The Sociology of National Socialism* he writes that neither National Socialism nor the S.S. formations ever soiled their hands with crimes. The calls for co-

operation in the struggle for freedom and independence, for greatness and for the future evoked only sincere understanding.

It is extremely significant that the ex-Hitler generals have joined in the extensive campaign to rehabilitate the S.S. launched in West Germany. Guderian, for example, writes that the rehabilitation of the S.S. has as its aim the "breaking down of the cloud of lies and slander which has surrounded the Waffen-S.S. and helping these talented people to occupy their due place in the new Wehrmacht".

In 1946 the Nuremberg Tribunal examined one of the leaders of the S.S., Wisliceny. Wisliceny recounted a conversation he had had with the head of the Gestapo Eichmann. Here is an extract from the examination:

"*Wisliceny:* 'I last saw Eichmann towards the end of February 1945 in Berlin. At that time he said that if the war were lost he would commit suicide.'

"*Lt. Col. Brookhart*: 'Did he say anything at that time as to the number of Jews that had been killed?'

"*Wisliceny:* 'Yes, he expressed this in a particularly cynical manner. He said he would leap laughing into the grave because the feeling that he had five million people on his conscience would be for him a source of extraordinary satisfaction.' "*

... The scene changes to Warsaw in 1943. For several years the Jews had been subjected to systematic extermination in the ghetto. The ovens of the crematoria where these unhappy people were burned and the pits where they were shot were the dumb witnesses of the horrors of Nazism. There was no doubt that by these means all the inhabitants of the ghetto would soon be exterminated. But the doomed rose up. ... The present-day champions of the Nazis prefer to say nothing of the bestiality with which the S.S. exterminated those who rose up merely in order that they should not die in the ovens of the crematoria.

* *I.M.T.*, Vol. IV, p. 371.

But this is what S.S. General Stroop reported regarding the suppression of the uprising in the Warsaw ghetto:

"... I therefore decided to destroy the entire Jewish residential area by setting every block on fire. ... Not infrequently the Jews stayed in the burning buildings until, because of heat and the fear of being burned alive, they preferred to jump down from the upper stories.... With their bones broken they still tried to crawl across the street into blocks of buildings which had not yet been set on fire or were only partially in flames. ... Their stay in the sewers also ceased to be pleasant after the first week. ... Then the men of the Waffen-S.S., the police, or the Wehrmacht engineers courageously climbed down the shafts to bring out the Jews and not infrequently they then stumbled over Jews already dead, or were shot at. It was always necessary to use smoke candles to drive out the Jews.... The bandits fled from what they believed to be gas. ... A great number of Jews who could not be counted were exterminated by blowing up sewers and dug-outs. The longer the resistance lasted, the tougher the men of the Waffen-S.S., police, and Wehrmacht became. They fulfilled their duty indefatigably in faithful comradeship and stood together as models and examples of soldiers. ...

"... The Wehrmacht engineers, too, executed the blowing up of dug-outs, sewers, and concrete buildings with indefatigability and great devotion to duty.

"Only through the continuous and untiring work of all involved did we succeed in catching a total of 56,065 Jews whose extermination can be proved. To this should be added the number of Jews who lost their lives in explosions or fires but whose number could not be ascertained."* Thus, working in close collaboration, the Wehrmacht, the S.S. and the police committed this horrible crime.

Then Jodl was questioned. Naturally, he categorically denied all knowledge of the extermination of Jews and

* *I.M.T.*, Vol. III, pp. 554-55.

other prisoners in the camps. His testimony deserves reproduction in full. "The secrecy concerning the annihilation of the Jews, and the events in the concentration camps, was a masterpiece of secrecy. It was also a masterpiece of deception by Himmler, who showed us soldiers faked photographs about these things in particular, and told us stories about the gardens and plantations in Dachau, about the ghettos in Warsaw and Therienstadt which gave us the impression that they were highly humane establishments."*

The reader already knows the barbarous manner in which the Warsaw ghetto was wiped out, and that the German Armed Forces, working in close collaboration with the police and the S.S., played a most active part in the operation. But General Jodl, the Chief of the General Staff, allegedly knew nothing of the lengthy operations carried out by German military units in this connection and, if we are to believe him, considered the ghetto itself a "highly humane establishment".

Then Jodl was asked, "Did not news reach the Führer's headquarters from the outside?" Here, too, Jodl tried to evade the issue. He—one of the most responsible leaders of the German Armed Forces—allegedly received the foreign press only after the most careful censorship. He received, he claimed, "only what was of military interest".** But the prosecution had at its disposal a document regarding the mass deportation of Jews from Denmark, and Jodl was forced to admit his complicity in this crime. A special conference was convened to discuss the question. It was held on the initiative of Himmler and was sanctioned by the Führer. In accordance with a decision of this meeting, which was ratified by Hitler, tens of thousands of Jews were to be seized and forcibly deported to the appropriate ghettos in the East for subsequent extermination. Jodl was obliged to acknowledge: "I trans-

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* *Op. cit.*, Vol. XV, p. 295.
** *Ibid.*, pp. 295-96.

mitted to the military commander in Denmark the details of this order."*

A little later the O.K.H. received from Denmark a document describing the manner in which the operation was to be carried out. Signed by the Reich Commissar in Denmark, this document declared:

"The arrest of the Jews will take place on the night of 1-2 October. Transportation from Zealand will be carried out by ship.

"2. Should I receive no contrary instruction, I do not intend allowing the Jewish action to be mentioned, either on the radio or in the press."** This document bears an inscription in Jodl's handwriting: "The Führer agrees."*** At Nuremberg Jodl was forced to acknowledge that it was indeed his signature. He also admitted that he could not deny the fact that the military commander in Denmark at that time, General von Hannecken, gave instructions that military units should take part in the manhunt for Jews and in their forcible deportation to ghettos in the East.

Thus the myth of Himmler's "masterpiece of secrecy and deception" which Jodl attempted to put into circulation at Nuremberg withered before it had even had a chance to blossom and became a masterpiece of cynical falsehood perpetrated by Jodl, the representative of the Nazi generals.

Such are the historical facts regarding the complicity of the Nazi generals in one of the most monstrous crimes of the Nazi regime—genocide. Is it possible, in the light of this, for the nations of Europe to watch without feelings of profound concern how in West Germany the re-establishment of various S.S. organisations, Hitler's "Black Guard", is being accelerated, and how the gangster-like activities of the Blackshirts are being lauded in every possible way?

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* *I.M.T.*, Vol. XV, p. 331.
** *Ibid.*, p. 492.
*** *Ibid.*, p. 493.

The process of the resurrection of the S.S. Bunds and associations is going forward hand in hand with the revival of German militarism in West Germany. Traditional rallies of S.S. men are taking place on a countrywide scale. At these rallies the Hitler regime is acclaimed and calls to hatred and violence are heard. More and more anti-Semitic organisations are springing up. Their number already exceeds 60. Daily the number of anti-Semitic acts and disorders increases. Just as in the days of Hitler, which are remembered with such distaste, Jewish shopkeepers are subjected to boycotts, while schools refuse to employ Jewish teachers or to accept Jewish pupils. During recent years there have been more than 300 cases of the desecration of synagogues and Jewish cemeteries. Anti-Semitism has been reborn in West Germany only as a result of the rebirth of militarism, which constantly seeks to justify its claims to world domination on grounds of racial superiority. That is why it is impossible to consider the neo-Nazi and anti-Semitic outbreaks in West Germany merely as excesses. The fact that these Nazi outbursts took place simultaneously at the end of 1959 in several countries merely demonstrates that the revival of Nazism in West Germany has reached such a stage that the Nazis can already co-ordinate their criminal efforts on a scale embracing many countries. It is no accident that not only purely German S.S. formations, but also foreign—Dutch, Flemish, Hungarian, Croatian and many others—have been formed in West Germany. Is it therefore surprising that during the counter-revolutionary uprising in Hungary members of "Arrow-Cross" S.S. detachments were sent from West Germany to stiffen the counter-revolutionaries?

If the millions of Jews who spent the last months and days of their life in the Nazi death camps, who waited long hours for their turn in mass executions and watched their relatives and friends—men, women and children—die before their eyes, who saw how people were buried alive or were suffocated in the gas chambers—if these

millions of Jewish martyrs had then been told that the day would come when a Jewish national state would be organised and that it would help the Nazi generals to arm new Nazi forces, they would have rejected such an unthinkable idea with indignation. But in August 1959 the people of Israel were shaken by the news that the Ben Gurion Government had sold a consignment of Israeli weapons to the Nazi generals who now head the Bundeswehr.

The Israeli Government thus committed sacrilege, insulting the memory of the millions of martyrs who perished at the hands of the Nazi executioners.

"REPORT ONLY TO FIELD MARSHAL MILCH"

Among many thousands of German General Staff documents, the eye of the Nuremberg investigators was caught by the following letter from General Field Marshal Erich Milch, with whom the reader is already acquainted, addressed to Himmler:

"Dear Mr. Himmler:

"I thank you very much for your letter of the 25th of August. I have read with great interest the reports of Dr. Rascher and Dr. Romberg. I am informed about the current experiments. I shall ask the two gentlemen to give a lecture, combined with the showing of motion pictures, to my men in the near future.

"Hoping that it will be possible for me to see you at the occasion of my next visit to Headquarters, I remain with best regards and Heil Hitler!

Yours,

E. Milch."*

The investigation of this and many other letters sent by the High Command of the Luftwaffe to the S.S. laid bare a picture of the monstrous crimes committed against con-

* *I.M.T.*, Vol. IV, p. 205.

centration-camp prisoners. On the instructions of the Luftwaffe High Command, S.S. doctors carried out experiments on living victims. Reports drawn up by these doctors, which were sent to Luftwaffe headquarters, were discovered. Here is an extract from the reports by Dr. Rascher from Dachau for August 1942: "The experimental subjects (VP) were placed in the water, dressed in complete flying uniform, winter or summer combination, and with an aviator's helmet. A life-jacket made of rubber or kapok was to prevent submerging. The experiments were carried out at water temperatures varying from 2.5° to 12° (Centigrade). In one experimental series the neck (brain stem) and the back of the head protruded above the water, while in another series of experiments the neck (brain stem) and the back of the head were submerged in the water.

"Electrical measurement gave low temperature readings of 26.4° in the stomach and 26.5° (Centigrade) in the rectum. Fatalities occurred only when the brain stem and the back of the head were also chilled. Autopsies of such fatal cases always revealed large amounts of free blood, up to a half litre, in the cranial cavity. The heart invariably showed extreme dilation of the right chamber. As soon as the temperature in these experiments reached 28°, the experimental subjects (VP) were bound to die despite all attempts at resuscitation."*

These experiments were carried out because Nazi airmen carrying out bombing raids on British cities were frequently shot down into the Channel. The experiments regarding the effects of cold had the aim of finding ways of enabling airmen to remain in the water for prolonged periods until picked up. Himmler's reply to the courteous letter of Field Marshal Milch was equally courteous. Noting that these medical experiments were of importance to the Luftwaffe, Himmler cynically complained that they were not organised on a sufficiently large scale.

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* *Ibid.*

In a letter to Doctor Rascher, who was in charge of the experiments on behalf of the Luftwaffe, Himmler wrote: "Those who continue to reject these experiments on people ... I consider as traitors and betrayers of the state, and I shall not hesitate to name them in the appropriate quarters. I authorise you to inform the appropriate establishments of my views in this matter."

But the generals did not need this instruction from Himmler—they themselves were all in favour of these "medical" experiments. The Luftwaffe was preparing to use poison gases against the positions and towns of the enemy, and it was necessary to test new gases. A professor from Strasbourg accompanied by an Air Force officer arrived at the Dachau concentration camp. Thirty young and healthy prisoners were placed at their disposal. They became the victims of a terrible experiment which was described by a rank-and-file doctor employed in the camp: the officer and the professor donned gas masks and poured about ten cubic centimetres of a liquid and then from ten to 15 drops of vogan on the prisoners' palms and inside forearms. On the first evening the unfortunate victims began to scream with pain. During subsequent days their suffering became so intolerable that, in the words of the S.S. doctor, they "screamed like beasts". No one gave them any assistance; they were merely photographed. Some were driven out of their minds. The majority died. Post-mortems showed degeneration of the brain, while the lungs and liver were eaten away and covered with pus. Those who remained alive were cripples, half-blind, suffering from diseases of the lungs and liver.

There is nothing surprising in the fact that these cannibal-like experiments were veiled in profound secrecy by the Nazis. We have before us a letter from Himmler addressed to the aforementioned Doctor Rascher, dated October 24, 1942 and sent from front-line headquarters bearing the stamp "Top Secret". The letter discusses a number of problems regarding the "medical experiments"

in business-like fashion. It continues: "You are authorised to report on your work only to General Field Marshal Milch in addition to the doctors."*

Field Marshal Milch was released a long time ago and now gets a substantial pension in the Federal Republic while engaging in neo-Nazi propaganda. The former Field Marshal is particularly zealous in venting his malice upon France: "We were too humane, especially in relation to the French—a people infected by Communist ideas. Now we see the consequences of these mistakes. But we shall not repeat them." Milch now plays an active part in the propaganda campaign which labels the crimes of the Wehrmacht as heroism and the war criminals as heroes worthy of imitation. The revenge-seekers demand that the German people be educated in the spirit of "pride and love for the Wehrmacht". The voice of the Nazi Field Marshal Milch is prominent in this chorus.

But it would be a mistake to suppose that it was only the Luftwaffe that was connected with the "medical experiments". The Wehrmacht as a whole was also implicated. We will cite only two facts out of many. In block 46 of the Buchenwald concentration camp 120 healthy young prisoners perished as a result of typhus injections between April 1943 and March 1945. The aim of the experiments was to test new types of vaccine. All this was done on the instructions of the Typhus and Virus Research Institute of the O.K.H. in Cracow headed by Major Eiler.

The German racist perverts also carried "scientific experiments" in the Reich University at Strasbourg. They needed skulls of Jews in order to prove by means of "anthropological measurements" that they were of "subhuman race". So an instruction was sent to the front signed by the hand of a Nazi: "Jewish Bolshevik commissars personify the repulsive but characteristic type of subhuman, and we have the possibility of drawing up a document of

* *SS im Einsatz*, Berlin, 1957, S. 339.

real scientific worth if we can obtain their skulls."* The letter goes on to give detailed instructions as to how this can be done. "Instructions should be given to the Wehrmacht regarding the immediate handing over in the future of all Jewish Bolshevik commissars to the Field Gendarmerie alive.... A junior doctor entrusted with the provision of the material [i.e., the skulls—*the authors*] from the Wehrmacht or the Field Gendarmerie should carry out the previously planned series of photographs and anthropological investigations and, if possible, establish the origin, date of birth and other particulars. After the killing of the Jew, the head of whom must not be damaged, he separates the head from the body and sends it to the appointed place in a specially prepared and well-sealed iron canister filled with preservative."** A grim document!

THESE ARE THE ASHES OF MEN. BOW YOUR HEADS

"I am the senior officer of the German Army," said Field Marshal Rundstedt when he entered the witness box at Nuremberg. The French Prosecutor, Charles Dubost, submitted a document regarding the crimes committed by a German unit in the French village of Ascq, when 77 people were massacred as a reprisal for the destruction of a railway line. The oldest was M. Brier, a 74-year-old retired businessman. The youngest was Jean Roque, the 15-year-old son of a post-office official. When on May 3, 1944 the French Government lodged a protest, Rundstedt, the then Supreme Commander in the West, replied: "The population of Ascq bears the responsibility for the consequences of its treacherous conduct, which I can only severely condemn."*** The murder of completely innocent old men

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* *SS im Einsatz*, Berlin, 1957, S. 380-81.
** *Ibid.*
*** *I.M.T.*, Vol. VI, p. 409.

and of 15-year-old youngsters was, in the view of the senior Field Marshal of the Nazi Army, legitimate punishment. Ascq was no exception among the misdeeds of the German generals, officers and soldiers in the West.

This is the crowning event in the atrocities committed by the Germans in France, declared M. Dubost, referring to the destruction of Oradour-sur-Glâne. "On Saturday, 10 June [1944—*the authors*] a detachment of S.S. belonging very likely to the 'Das Reich' Division, which was present in the area, burst into the village, after having surrounded it entirely, and ordered the population to gather in the central square. It was then announced that it had been reported that explosives had been hidden in the village and that a search and the checking of identity documents were about to take place. The men were asked to make four or five groups, each of which was locked into a barn. The women and children were taken to the church and locked in. It was about 14:00 hrs. A little later machine-gunning began and the whole village was set on fire, as well as the surrounding farms. The houses were set on fire one by one. The operation lasted undoubtedly several hours. The church was filled with the corpses of women and children, all shrivelled up and calcinated."*

According to figures contained in the official reports of the French Government, *Crimes de l'ennemi en France,* only a few people from a village of over 600 inhabitants escaped from this bloodbath.

On that day all the school children, including those from neighbouring small villages, were assembled in Oradour-sur-Glâne for a medical inspection. Their total number was 191. All women and children, including the school children, were locked in the church, where they were either killed by bursts from automatic weapons or burnt alive. More than 400 people died in that way. The world was told of this by Madame Rouffanche, whose

* *Ibid.*, pp. 411-12.

husband, two children and seven-month-old grandson were killed on that day.

It was established at Nuremberg that the Supreme Command of the German Army was obliged, under the pressure of world public opinion, to carry out an investigation into this monstrous crime. Perhaps the generals then commanding the German forces in the West punished those responsible?

Those responsible were indeed "found"—not among the cutthroats of the "Das Reich" Division, but among the inhabitants of Oradour, murdered in so bestial a fashion. The behaviour of these German generals resembles that of the inveterate French criminal who before execution took advantage of his right to address the crowd in order to say: "The main thing, my friends, is never to admit anything."

Some 15 miles to the north-west of Limoge in the valley of the river Glâne beyond the bridge, an unusual village surrounded by a wall may be seen. No smoke comes from the chimneys, no creak of wheels is heard. There is only the chirping of birds building their nests under the eaves of the broken-down roofs. At the entrance to this dead village an inscription calls upon the visitor: "Oradour. Remember!" The sobre skeleton of the church within whose walls 207 children and 245 women were burnt alive still stands, and on it is a plaque tragic in its brevity: "These Are the Ashes of Men. Bow Your Heads." Nothing has changed in the quiet, deserted cemetery. Only the photographs of children taken from family albums and reproduced in enamel smile from the monuments. When France learnt of what had taken place at Oradour, it trembled with indignation. Everywhere it was said that soon the war would be brought to a victorious conclusion and the commander of the "Das Reich" Division, S.S. General Lammerding, and his accomplices would be arrested and punished by a stern, just court.

The war ended—but no trial took place. True, General

Lammerding was sentenced to death *in absentia* as a war criminal, but it did not prevent him settling down in the Federal Republic, establishing a building firm in Düsseldorf and prospering. The French Court demanded at least the extradition of those directly responsible for the crime of Oradour, whose names were well known, but its demands were rejected. Eight years went by in this way. Only in January 1953 was it possible to begin the trial of those participants in the Oradour massacre who had been captured by the French. These were small fry—none of them above the rank of N.C.O. But they were worthy of their chiefs. In connection with this trial, the newspaper *Le Monde* wrote with justification on February 20, 1953 that "those of them who had already fought on the Eastern front might think that the systematic extermination of the enemy—innocent or guilty, military or civilian, children or old people—is a recognised procedure in modern war. And indeed how many Oradours were destroyed on Russian soil during the advances and retreats of the German Army? However terrible the war here may have seemed, it was a 'kid-glove war' compared with that which raged from the Baltic to the Caspian and the Caucasus".

But the rehabilitation of the Nazi military caste and West Germany's enrolment into the coalition directed against the socialist countries had already been placed on the agenda by the Western rulers in 1953. Therefore it was no accident that in West Germany, while the S.S. men from the "Das Reich" Division were still in prison, an association "to defend the S.S. of Oradour" was set up. On October 20, 1953, when the campaign for the establishment of the European Defence Community was launched, 5,000 S.S. men headed by the hangman of Brest, General Ramcke, former Commander of the S.S. "Viking" Division General Gille, and General Steiner marched through the streets of Frankfurt-on-Main. S.S. General Gille solemnly told a meeting that the "first experiment in the establishment of a European Army was successfully carried out in

the units of the Waffen-S.S., which were formed of idealists who ten years ago understood that Europe can only defend itself against Bolshevism in unity. The ideological platform of the S.S. was in reality the strongest expression of the European idea so far known". This statement aroused general indignation in France at the time. In such circumstances the Court did not feel it possible to acquit the hangmen of Oradour. Sergeant Boos and Corporal Lenz were sentenced to death, and the remainder to various terms of imprisonment. Apparently, justice had been done, at least in part. But only "apparently"! Within a few days a majority in the French National Assembly amnestied the executioners, on the grounds that they had been born in Alsace and press-ganged into the S.S.

But while there was no one left in the dead village to protest against this utterly unwarranted leniency, the inhabitants of the new Oradour-sur-Glâne which has grown up alongside the tragic ruins of the old village raised their voices. Expressing the indignation felt by their constituents following the amnesty given to the executioners of Oradour, the local authority decided that side by side with the plaque at the entrance to the village bearing the words "Oradour. Remember!" a list of the names of the French deputies and senators who, in the words of the inscription, "had rehabilitated the monsters of the S.S. who had killed, burnt and destroyed Oradour" should be placed under glass.

BADER'S ARTIFICIAL LEGS AND LYNCH LAW

In his book *Fatal Decisions*, in the chapter headed "The Battle for Britain", the Luftwaffe General Werner Kreipe describes the chivalrous relations which he alleges existed between the protagonists. He cites the case of the British fighter pilot, Douglas Bader. Prior to the war Douglas Bader lost both legs. The courageous flyer did not however want to stand aside when his country's fate was at stake.

By a tremendous effort of will, persistence and hard work he demonstrated that he could be a pilot even with artificial legs. He took part in the Battle for Britain and was shot down near St. Omer. When his plane crashed, his artificial limbs, made of aluminium, were broken. Bader asked German officers whether it would not be possible to have his spare artificial legs sent to him from England. Kreipe, then chief of the Operations Department of the 5th Air Fleet, was told of this request. He reported to Field Marshal Sperrle. "With the Field Marshal's approval we sent a message by wireless, using the international emergency wave length, and within 48 hours, the Squadron Leader's artificial legs came floating down by parachute on to St. Omer airfield."*

So we have a pastoral picture of a war conducted with idyllic chivalry. As one reads this hypocritical nonsense, one involuntarily remembers the emaciated face of the Frenchman Lampe.

When this former prisoner of Mauthausen gave evidence at Nuremberg, the courtroom was gripped by a silence so profound that the rustle of the paper and the scratching of the pens of the shorthand writers could be heard. The defence counsel did not dare to cross-examine. Lampe described how on September 6, 1944 a small transport of 47 British, American and Dutch officers arrived at Mauthausen. They were airmen shot down in battle and taken prisoner. The Nazis had sentenced them to death. They had been brought to Mauthausen to be executed. One American officer asked the S.S. Commandant that he should be executed in a manner befitting a soldier. The reply came: "Blows with a whip, only blows." The 47 men were driven barefoot to a quarry. The execution was remembered by all at Mauthausen. It was a picture of Dante's Hell. "At the bottom of the steps they loaded stones on the backs of these poor men and they had to carry them to the top.

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* *The Fatal Decisions*, New York, 1956, p. 19.

The first journey was made with stones weighing 25 to 35 kilos and was accompanied by blows. Then they were made to run down. For the second journey the stones were still heavier; and whenever the poor wretches sank under their burden they were kicked and hit with a bludgeon, even stones were hurled at them. This went on for several days. In the evening ... the road which led to the camp was a bath of blood. Twenty-one bodies were strewn along the road.... The twenty-six others died the following morning."* Even if Lampe's evidence had consisted solely of this, it would have been possible to declare that the German military command bore full responsibility for this sadistic extermination of 47 American, British and Dutch Air Force officers. The very fact of the illegal transfer of 47 captured Air Force officers to a general concentration camp, into the hands of the S.S., in itself made the German Military Command responsible for their bestial extermination.

But Lampe's evidence did not end with this episode. He testified that Himmler and his retinue repeatedly visited Mauthausen and inspected it in detail. There had, he declared, been cases when they personally had been present during the execution of prisoners of war. During such visits they were always accompanied by representatives of the German General Staff.

On the night of 24-25 March, 1944, 76 Royal Air Force officers, prisoners of war, escaped from Stalag Luft III at Zagan in Silesia. Although escape by prisoners of war is not under international law considered as an infringement of the rules of war, all these officers were caught and fifty of them shot by the Germans without trial. A very revealing incident took place in connection with this barbarous act involving the illegal shooting of R.A.F. officer prisoners of war. Keitel summoned Major General Westhoff, the head of the department of the General Staff re-

* *I.M.T.*, Vol. VI, pp. 185-86.

sponsible for prisoners of war, and Major General von Grävenitz, the Inspector of German Prisoner of War Camps. Keitel told them that these attempts to escape must be stopped by severe measures, that the officers who had escaped would be shot and were probably already dead. When General von Grävenitz began to protest (it was towards the end of the war, and the German generals already felt the rope round their own necks) Keitel declared: "I do not care a damn. We discussed it in the Führer's presence and it cannot be altered."*

All this was confirmed by Westhoff and Grävenitz during their examination.

When the British Prosecutor, Sir David Maxwell-Fyfe, read out their evidence Keitel had to admit: "I said something similar."**

When the question of the shooting of Royal Air Force prisoners was considered at the trial the following dialogue took place between a British prosecutor, Roberts, and the accused Jodl:

"*Mr. Roberts:* '... This was sheer murder of these 50 airmen?'

"*Jodl:* 'I completely agree with you: I consider it sheer murder.'

"*Mr. Roberts:* 'How could you honourable generals go on serving a murderer with unabated loyalty?'

"*Jodl:* 'I did not serve with unabated loyalty after this event....'"***

Whom was this lie intended to deceive? It is common knowledge that General Jodl continued to serve Nazism with fanatical loyalty right up to the day of unconditional surrender, even when continued resistance meant the senseless letting of German blood and terrible destruction on German soil.

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* *Op. cit.*, Vol. XI, p. 4.
** *Ibid.*
*** *Op. cit.*, Vol. XV, p. 496.

The first French airmen were shot down on the Soviet-German front at the beginning of 1943. A document issued from the Führer's headquarters on May 26, 1943 was submitted at Nuremberg. It deals with the treatment of supporters of General de Gaulle who fought in the Soviet Armed Forces: "The Führer has ordered that employment of French troops in the Soviet forces is to be counteracted by the strongest means. ... Detailed investigations are to be made in appropriate cases against relatives of Frenchmen who fight for the Russians. ... If the investigation reveals that relatives have given assistance to facilitate escape from France then severe measures are to be taken."* In accordance with this Keitel proposed that "O.K.W./W.R. is to make the necessary preparations with the authorised military commander and the higher S.S. and police chiefs".**

Who was the "authorised military commander" in France to whom Keitel entrusted the task of carrying out this directive and, together with the S.S. and police, of finding and taking reprisals against fathers and mothers whose sons had gone to fight on the side of de Gaulle? It was the ill-famed Stülpnagel, the author of the Hostages Code, who shot 29,660 innocent French citizens on the basis of this "code".

IN WHOSE HANDS IS THE ATOMIC TORCH

Stülpnagel's right-hand man in these grim and bloody deeds was his Chief of Staff, General Hans Speidel. The total defeat of the Third Reich was not a personal catastrophe for Speidel. He emerged safe and sound—indeed, far more than safe and sound! The post-war political climate in the West proved exceptionally congenial to Speidel: people of his type are valued both inside and outside the Federal Republic.

* *I.M.T.*, Vol. X, p. 644.
** *Ibid.*

At the beginning of 1957 the slap in the face which the West German generals dealt their British and French NATO colleagues resounded throughout Europe. General Speidel was appointed Commander-in-Chief of NATO Ground Forces, Central Europe. He assumed command over the French and British generals against whom German troops had fought in the battles of 1944-45. Now young British and French recruits serve under the command of the general against whom their fathers fought—a cruel humiliation. "The general of a new type," with an origin and biography somewhat different from those of the majority of his colleagues, is how Speidel is described in Western military circles. His father was not a military man but a teacher. Speidel the elder, a professor at Tübingen University, falsified learning to justify German militarism's claims to world domination. The son also from time to time made his contribution to "learning".

At the age of 17, in a fever of chauvinism, Hans Speidel volunteered for one of the Kaiser's Guards regiments. From the bloodbath of the First World War he learned a valuable lesson: that with proper care and circumspection it was possible to make a good career even out of war. The main thing was not to burden oneself with such attributes as convictions and conscience. Principles and conscience are heavy and unnecessary baggage on life's hard road, while on the twisting paths of war they are simply fatal. Guided by this simple philosophy, Speidel, who fought at Verdun, on the Somme and on the Maas, emerged from the holocaust as a regimental adjutant, not only without wounds but with Orders.

Times were hard for the defeated German Army: it was reduced from many millions to 100,000, and Speidel decided to turn to "scholarship". His thesis, headed "1813-1924. A Military and Political Study", was as like a philosophical work as barrack language is like the poetry of Goethe. Nevertheless, it got him his Ph. D. "The roots of revolution lie not in moral strength, but in the moral weakness of

the people and government"—this was the sort of assertion in which Speidel's thesis abounded. It could not but win the hearts of the reactionary professors of the early 20s, when Germany was reeling under the blows of the mounting revolutionary struggle.

Clearly all was not well in Speidel's home country at that time. Who would win was still not clear, and to defend the interests of reaction when its chances of success were still not 100 per cent certain was something Speidel by no means wanted to do for he did not like to take risks; caution and yet again caution was his motto. Therefore, the newly-fledged Doctor of Philosophy set out on his travels. The galleries of the Louvre, the beauties of the Swiss countryside, the ruins of the Coliseum, Britain and the New World were all milestones on his way. But the revolution was suppressed. Germany once more took the road of reaction and militarism and the Doctor of Philosophy made his choice: having seen the world, the former officer and "philosopher" was well fitted for service in the Abwehr. Its leaders were of the same opinion. So Hans Speidel resumed his military career.

A filmed biography of the Speidel of this period made by able German documentary film-makers has now gone round the world.

At the beginning of his military career Speidel did not hesitate to handle matters that even experienced Nazi military intelligence officers refused to touch. It was he who organised the assassination of the French Foreign Minister Barthou and King Alexander of Yugoslavia in Marseilles on October 9, 1934. It is not out of place here to recall that the aim of this assassination was the physical removal from the political scene of two statesmen whom the Hitler clique considered supporters of a policy of unity among the countries most threatened by Nazi aggression.

Naturally, such a brilliant beginning assured Speidel of rapid promotion. From 1936 to 1939 he was military attaché in Madrid, and then chief of a department in the

German General Staff. Together with the Nazi Chief of Staff, General Beck, Speidel revisited Paris a short time before the Second World War: Beck called upon the French Commander-in-Chief Marshal Gamelin. This was the ceremonial handshake before the knock-out blow. Within six months the war had begun, and Speidel made his third visit to Paris—this time to propose to the French General Dentz that he surrender the city without a struggle. He accompanied Hitler on a tour of the conquered city, and the impartial eye of the camera recorded the Führer and his devoted aide at the top of the Eiffel Tower: the Führer, drunk with success, has a stupid smile on his face—the great city, the pride of mankind, lies at his feet; by his side Hans Speidel stands attentively. At last the dream of his life has been realised. He had put his stake on a reliable horse. The prize was world domination, and he, Hans Speidel, was in the camp of the victor. The Führer's gratitude was not long in making itself felt. In 1940-42 Speidel was already Chief of Staff of the German Occupation Forces in France. In this capacity he wiped out French patriots who were members of the Resistance Movement. Here are a few lines from Speidel's report on internal security: "I repeated the order to arrest and send to Germany 1,000 Communists and Jews throughout the occupied territory." The killing of members of the Resistance Movement in occupied France was not, of course, a very difficult "military operation".

Speidel's military activity in the Soviet Union in 1943 and 1944 was, however, less successful. As Chief of Staff of the Eighth Hitler Army he fought in the south of the Soviet Union and, being obliged constantly to retreat, sought comfort in the commission of new atrocities. He was one of the organisers of the "scorched earth" tactic. It was his retreating units which left behind a trail of Soviet towns and villages in ashes and thousands of shot civilians. Having suffered devastating failure on the Soviet-German front, Speidel received a new appointment: in

1944 he found himself on the Western front as Chief of Staff of Field Marshal Rommel's army. Here, too, he was constantly retreating and did not win any military laurels. On the other hand, it recently became known that he had planned to destroy Paris.

The accusation, backed by many facts, that he betrayed to the Gestapo those participants in the July 20 conspiracy who were known to him, among them Rommel, is made against Speidel as it is against Heusinger. It has been established that Speidel, acting on behalf of the plotters and instructed by Rommel, established contact with von Neurath, arranged a meeting between Rommel and Stülpnagel and conducted conversations with Kluge. But the strange thing is that when the plot was discovered, Kluge shot himself, Rommel took poison, very well knowing the worth of Nazi justice, and Stülpnagel attempted to shoot himself, but failed and was hanged, while Hans Speidel, when fate was carrying the long-awaited plotters into the abyss, succeeded in saving his skin. In Hitler's time such a miracle could be purchased only at the price of betrayal.* The war ended and Speidel was not punished. Far from it. He is a busy man today. As soon as the militarisation of West Germany began, he was entrusted with responsible work in the Bundeswehr, and on April 1, 1957 went from Bonn to France—not to the Majestic Hotel in Paris, where he had signed death warrants for the French Maquis, but to NATO headquarters at Fontainebleau. It was in the Palace of Fontainebleau that on April 11, 1814 Napoleon signed his abdication, having failed to build a world empire by aggressive war. It is unlikely that its walls will instil wisdom into Hans Speidel, who learnt nothing from the still more recent events of the Second World War.

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* During the trial of the conspirators Rommel received a letter from Hitler in which he was offered the choice of either committing suicide or facing trial. Rommel preferred suicide to the justice of the Third Reich. Before his death he told his son he had been betrayed by Speidel.

Perhaps Speidel had during these years become more of a pacifist and democrat? The very idea would be offensive to him. Speaking at Wiesbaden at the end of May 1956 at a rally of German militarists, among whom was von Falkenhausen, once Commander-in-Chief of the Nazi Forces in Belgium and Northern France, Speidel told the old Hitler generals: "We want to take up the torch and go to meet the bright future just as capably as you did, and with a firm belief in invincibility." Incidentally, Hans Speidel is too modest in referring to a torch. We have seen that he already held the torch in his hands, and used it on Soviet territory, burning everything that stood in his way as he retreated.

Speidel appeared in France as Commander-in-Chief of NATO forces in Central Europe at the beginning of 1957.

French national pride was insulted. The sons of executed Frenchmen refused to serve under Speidel's command. To do so was incompatible with the memory of their dead fathers. They were imprisoned. But soon they were quietly released. The authorities did not dare to stage a trial: there are some allies of whom one is ashamed.

Naturally, this greatly angered Speidel. Such a people could not provide the army with "proper" soldiers—proper, that is, from Speidel's point of view—while the French generals standing at the head of such an army and putting up with such a state of affairs did not command his respect. That is why shortly after assuming his NATO post, Speidel penned a report to Washington regarding the "bad political and moral state of the French Army" and his lack of confidence in the French High Command.

THE GENERALS AND SLAVE LABOUR

In discussing the close ties between the generals and the punitive organs of the Third Reich, it is impossible not to consider the question of the exploitation of slave labour during the Second World War. History has not

known so terrible and extensive a form of slavery as the deportation of large numbers of people to the Third Reich for slave labour. At Nuremberg the accused Sauckel stated that "out of five million foreign workers who arrived in Germany not even 200,000 came voluntarily".*

On the orders of Sauckel, who was Plenipotentiary General for Manpower, foreign workers "must be fed, sheltered and treated in such a way as to exploit them to the highest possible extent at the lowest conceivable degrees of expenditure". A special order was issued which laid down that "all prisoners of war, from the territories of the West as well as of the East, actually in Germany, must be completely incorporated into the German armament and munition industry".** It would be difficult to imagine a more glaring violation of international law regarding prisoners of war.

What part did the Wehrmacht and its generals play in these measures? The generals together with Hitler drew up measures for the use of slave labour even prior to the Second World War. Since the punitive organs in the occupied territories could not cope with the task of deporting millions of people from their homes to a distant and hostile land, the Wehrmacht came to their aid. Here are the minutes of a conference between the deputy head of the O.K.W., General Warlimont, and Sauckel. Warlimont acquainted Sauckel with an order in accordance with which "all German forces had to participate in the task of raising manpower. Wherever the Wehrmacht was stationed, if it was not employed in pressing military duties (as, for example, in the construction of coastal defences), it would be available, but it could not be assigned expressly for the purpose of the G.B.A." It is noted in the minutes that "Gauleiter Sauckel accepted these suggestions with thanks and expressed the expectation that

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* *I.M.T.*, Vol. III, p. 435.
** *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 140.

a certain amount of success could be achieved by this means".*

Yet another document testifies to the criminal activities of the generals regarding the exploitation of slave labour. It is a top secret memorandum prepared for the Ministry of the Occupied Eastern Territories toward the end of the war on June 12, 1944 and approved by one of the major war criminals, Rosenberg. "The Army Group Centre has the intention to apprehend 40,000-50,000 youths at the ages of 10 to 14 who are in the army territory and to transport them to the Reich. ... It is intended to allot these juveniles primarily to the German trades as apprentices to be used as skilled workers after two years' training. ... This action is aimed not only at preventing a direct reinforcement of the enemy's military strength but also at a reduction of his biological potentialities as viewed from the perspective of the future. These ideas have been voiced not only by the Reichsführer S.S. but also by the Führer. Corresponding orders were given during last year's withdrawals in the southern sector. ... The Minister has approved the execution of the 'Hay Action' in the Army territories under the conditions and provisions arrived at in talks with Army Group Centre."**

How were these wretched slaves seized by the Nazi forces and the S.S. in their own country and forcibly deported to German cities exploited? The indictment described this exploitation as based on the "concept of extermination", citing a protocol of agreement between Himmler and the Minister of Justice Thierack dated September 18, 1942, in which it was pointed out that these foreign workers, described as anti-social elements, should be "worked to death". A vast quantity of people passed through this apparatus of forced labour. One of the major war criminals, the former Minister of Armaments Speer, confirmed that

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* *Op. cit.*, Vol. X, p. 639.
** *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 406-07, 408.

40 per cent of all prisoners of war were employed in the production of armaments and munitions. The majority perished.

We have cited only a very small part of the mass of evidence brought to light during the Nuremberg Trial, irrefutably proving that the generals committed the most terrible crimes in close collaboration with the punitive organs of Hitler Germany. What, in the light of this, remains of the second myth—that the atrocities committed by the Nazi regime were allegedly only the work of the punitive agencies of the Third Reich and that the generals had nothing to do with them and did not even know of them? Nothing. The documents give the lie to the scribblings of the present-day apologists of the German generals, who try to depict Nazi officers as angels in the flesh. The Wehrmacht and the punitive organs of the Third Reich were two jackboots which together trampled on the laws of humanity and human lives.

"I APPROVE SUCH MEASURES AND I SANCTION THEM"

The reader will remember how Keitel posed as a simpleton, expressing his "indignation" at the crimes committed by the Nazis, in an effort to attribute them only to the S.S. But on September 16, 1941 the German High Command issued an order demanding the radical suppression of discontent in the occupied territories. "One must bear in mind that human life in the countries affected has absolutely no value, and that intimidation is only possible through the application of extraordinarily harsh measures."* Field Marshal Keitel was at Nuremberg obliged to acknowledge the following: "I knew from years of experience that in the South-Eastern territories and in certain parts of the

* *I.M.T.*, Vol. X, p. 617.

Soviet territory, human life was not respected to the same degree."*

This order also laid down that "to atone for the life of one German soldier 50 to 100 Communists should be, as a rule, sentenced to death", and added that "the method of execution should strengthen the measure of deterrent".** But that was not all. The order contained a paragraph that the normal man finds hard to grasp: "The troops are therefore authorised and ordered in this struggle to take any measures, without restriction even against women and children, if that is necessary to achieve success."***

When this order was still at the discussion stage, it embarrassed even Canaris, the head of German Intelligence and Counter-Intelligence, with whom the reader is already familiar. Canaris timidly objected—not on legal or moral grounds, but on the grounds that it was impossible to conceal crimes on such a scale from world public opinion. It would provide abundant material for anti-German propaganda and inspire the troops of the anti-Hitler coalition in their struggle. But Keitel firmly corrected him: "These objections arise from the military conception of chivalrous warfare. We are dealing here with the destruction of an ideology and therefore I approve such measures and sanction them." It was signed "Keitel".****

The chief Soviet Prosecutor Rudenko quoted these words and asked Keitel whether he could confirm their correctness. Keitel replied that there were some inaccuracies in the text quoted:

"*Keitel:* 'I signed the order but the figures contained in it are alterations made personally by Hitler himself.'

"*Rudenko:* 'And what figures did you present to Hitler?'

"*Keitel*: 'The figures in the original were five to ten.'

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* *Ibid.*, p. 618.
** *Ibid.*, p. 619.
*** *Ibid.*, p. 620.
**** *Ibid.*, p. 623.

"*Rudenko:* 'In other words, the divergence between you and Hitler consisted merely in the figures and not in the spirit of the document?'

"*Keitel:* 'The idea was that the only way of deterring them was to demand several sacrifices for the life of one soldier, as is stated here.' "*

Keitel found himself in an especially difficult position when the fate of Soviet prisoners of war was discussed. The majority of prisoners of war remained in the battle area. They had no shelter, food, medical care, etc., and as a result of this, and shortage or complete lack of food, they died. Epidemics were widespread. At the risk of their lives, the prisoners of war attempted to escape from the camps. This alarmed the Nazi High Command and led to a new feature of the slave system imposed by the Nazi militarists on the temporarily occupied territories of the Soviet Union: the General Staff ordered the tattooing of all Soviet prisoners of war. Keitel was obliged to admit that he had issued the order. "All Soviet prisoners of war are to be tattooed for identification purposes. The tattoo shall be in the shape of an acute angle of approximately 45° with each arm one centimetre long. ...And on the left buttock ... a mark made with a heated lancet on the surface of the skin with Indian ink."** It is scarcely necessary to comment upon Keitel's barbarous order, reminiscent of the worst days of the epoch of slavery.

"HE MUST NOT SURVIVE HIS COMRADES FOR MORE THAN 24 HOURS"

As a result of bestial treatment, unbearable work and murder, hundreds of thousands of soldiers of the Allied Nations were annihilated in Nazi prisoner of war camps or on the battlefield at the moment of capture. At Nurem-

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* *I.M.T.*, Vol. X, pp. 619-20.
** *Op. cit.*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 489-90.

berg one episode was traced which clearly demonstrated the morality of the Hitler generals, who liked—and still like—to boast of their soldierly traditions. In October 1942 a small British raiding party reached the Norwegian coast with the task of directing torpedoes designed to destroy the battleship *Tirpitz* at anchor in Trondheim Fjord. The attack was unsuccessful. Although all the men were wearing uniform with appropriate identification marks when captured, they were shot by the Germans. General Jodl reported the fact as an example to all commanders and added that "this order must not under any circumstances fall into the hands of the enemy", since, as is stated in the document, the prisoners were murdered in flagrant violation of international law.

During the second half of 1942 Anglo-American raids took place at various points in occupied territory. Insofar as the landing of large units had to be preceded by operations to seize a bridgehead, these important operations were entrusted to special assault groups which were known in the Allied armies as "Commandos". The wrath of the Hitler generals was let loose upon these bold soldiers, sailors and airmen who were devoted fighters against Nazism. On October 18, 1942 an order was issued under the terms of which captured Commandos were to be shot immediately. Hitler and his generals who zealously carried out this order were not in the least concerned that it constituted a most flagrant violation of international law. This shameful document, which has gone down in history as the "Commando Order", was drawn up by the O.K.W. and signed by Hitler and threatened that any officer who dared to violate it would be tried before a court martial. How zealously top-ranking generals obeyed the Commando Order they had drawn up can be seen from one example. At this date the Commander-in-Chief of the German forces in Norway was General von Falkenhorst. A few months after the publication of the Commando Order Falkenhorst issued his own order on the subject of "Treatment of Prisoners of War".

It merits quotation. "I am under the impression that the wording of the above order [the Commando order—*the authors*], which had to be destroyed, is no longer clearly in mind and I therefore again bring to particular notice Paragraph 3. Failure to comply with the order is subject to severe punishment. ... If a man [a Commando—*the authors*] is saved for interrogation he must not survive his comrades for more than 24 hours."*

Thousands of British and American soldiers who were members of Commando units and who were captured by the Nazis were annihilated. Both the order itself and also cases of its fulfilment were considered by the International Military Tribunal and were established with accuracy.

We will cite one such case. On the night of November 19-20, 1942, a British glider made a crash-landing near Egersund (Norway). Aboard it was a group of British Commandos 17 strong. Three were killed in the crash, while the 14 survivers, wearing British military uniform, were captured and shot on the evening of November 20 in accordance with the order. This was done on the orders of the Commander of the 280th Infantry Division.

As the war drew to its conclusion, the German generals piled one war crime upon another. On December 17, 1944, during the last German offensive in the West, near Beignes in Belgium 129 American soldiers were taken prisoner by the Germans. Some American soldiers from the group ran across the fields to the West. They hid among the trees, in the bushes and in ditches, thus saving their own lives and becoming witnesses of what followed; they described the terrible fate of their comrades to Allied investigators. German tanks appeared in the field where the unarmed American prisoners were standing with their hands raised or clasped behind their heads. One of the tanks stopped, a German officer in it stood up, drew his revolver, took deliberate aim and fired into the group. He fired several

* Russell, *The Scourge of the Swastika*, London, 1954, p. 31.

times and killed several Americans. At about the same time the tanks opened fire with machine-guns, as a result of which the majority of the Americans were killed or wounded.

German soldiers then came up to the wounded American soldiers, who were lying in the field and who still showed any sign of life, and clubbed them with rifle butts or shot them at point-blank range between the eyes or in the back of the head. Thus the terrible slaughter came to an end.

In their memoirs the German generals now like to claim that during the early period of the war, in 1939 and 1940, it was conducted with chivalry and the observation of all the rules by both sides and that it was only the partisan movement organised in many countries which introduced the element of cruelty and compelled the Germans to take harsh retaliatory measures. This is no more true than all their other assertions.

... On May 26, 1940 a unit of the British Expeditionary Force was still in the Pas-de-Calais, covering the Channel ports. In the hamlet of Paradis the remnants of the Second Battalion, the Norfolk Regiment, were still holding out, including battalion headquarters. But by noon ammunition had run out and a message was received from brigade headquarters to the effect that the battalion was cut off and could not expect any further assistance. Therefore, the senior surviving officer, Major Ryder, decided that an attempt to surrender should be made. With that end three soldiers walked out into the open without firearms and holding a white towel. These men were at once shot down by the Germans. A second attempt was then made. This was successful and the surrender was accepted.

During the search the prisoners were hit with rifle butts by soldiers whose officers were present but did not interfere, and their personal possessions taken from them. Then the prisoners were taken into a small field near a farmhouse. In the centre of the field two machine-guns had been mounted. The German Company Commander, Fritz

Knochlein, was standing with a group of officers and N.C.O.s on the road leading to the field. Knochlein then ordered the machine-guns to open fire. The machine-guns sprayed the column of British prisoners of war, traversing from right to left along the British column which by then was marching right across the line of fire. Two privates, Pooley and O'Callaghan, fell into a small depression in the ground and thus saved their lives, although both were wounded. The remaining British soldiers lay on the ground. When the guns ceased fire the German troops, fixing bayonets, dashed toward the prostrate bodies and finished off all those who showed any signs of life. Officers also fired their revolvers.

Knochlein's company did not even bother to bury the corpses and spent the night in drunken celebration within a stone's throw of the scene of the crime. The bodies were buried by local inhabitants. The two survivors, shamming dead, lay still until nightfall, when they went toward the village where they were succoured by French patriots. So two witnesses of the tragedy which subsequently became known as the "Paradis Massacre" remained alive. Knochlein's company which committed this monstrous crime formed part of the "Totenkopf" Division, which was in turn part of the 16th Army Corps.

Thus units of the Wehrmacht and its officers and generals showed their bestiality even during the early days of the war.

"TO ESTABLISH ORDER ON THE SEA LANES"

The re-establishment of a navy which should play a decisive role in the NATO system in the Baltic is now going ahead at full speed in the Federal Republic. German warships and submarines are once again furrowing the seas. The new vessels of the German Navy, as has been repeatedly pointed out by Bonn officials, fully satisfy the requirements of nuclear war and are capable of firing

missiles and torpedoes with atomic warheads. By January 1, 1960 the West German Navy already had 160 warships, equipped during the previous year with the latest rocket and torpedo weapons and divided into 17 squadrons. The new Navy's personnel, especially its officers, come from the militarist Bunds of ex-Hitler navymen. The Bunds also attract youngsters who have not yet served, and they are given a form of pre-service training.

Who now commands the German Navy? What ideas govern its activities? Here, too, we see familiar faces and encounter long familiar "ideas". Its Inspector-General (Commander-in-Chief) is Vice-Admiral Friedrich Ruge, an Admiral in Hitler's Navy who remained loyal to the Führer to the very end. From 1944 he occupied an important post in the High Command of the German Navy. Ruge took part in the campaigns against Poland and France, the occupation of Holland and Belgium, and also in naval operations in the Mediterranean. He was released shortly after the end of the war, in 1946, and now plays a prominent role in the leadership of the Federal Republic's Armed Forces. In March 1958 Friedrich Ruge conducted negotiations in Copenhagen regarding the establishment of a NATO Baltic Command and the joint use of Danish and West German naval bases. Reports appeared to the effect that Ruge was the Number One candidate for this command, the purpose of which was to transform the Baltic into a potential springboard for aggression under NATO's aegis. Immediately after Ruge's visit to Copenhagen on March 11, 1958, the Norwegian Defence Minister Handal emphasised that the "defence of Southern Norway" would be part of the task of the Federal Republic's Armed Forces. Shortly afterwards, Associated Press, quoting a well-informed Allied officer in Oslo, announced that the Federal Republic would assume responsibility for the "defence" of the Baltic, Southern Norway and the Danish straits.

Ruge's past and his present views make him an extremely suitable person for the role of "defender" of Norway

and Denmark. In 1954 the Admiral published *A History of the War at Sea 1939-45*. Perhaps he condemned the piratical activities of the Nazi seamen and their commanders during the Second World War? By no means.

On the literary front Ruge is clearly an advocate and disciple of Grand Admirals Raeder and Dönitz, and of their criminal methods of waging war. Both Dönitz and Raeder were sentenced at Nuremberg. It is not surprising that with such a past and with such convictions Ruge should today be the "Federal Republic's first seaman" and a claimant for a high NATO post. But it is difficult to see how Ruge won the favour of Norwegian and Danish politicians, for in his book he hails the Nazis' gangster-like attack upon Denmark and Norway and bluntly declares the Nuremberg verdict which condemned Raeder for the planning and execution of this act of aggression to have been illegal.

Admiral Wagner has been a regular naval officer since 1916. He loyally served first Kaiser Wilhelm and then the Third Reich. During the Second World War he was one of the closest collaborators of Hitler's Grand Admirals, Raeder and Dönitz, and headed the Operations Department of the Nazi Navy's High Command. All the barbarous directives for the sinking of merchant ships and the extermination of their crews, with which the reader will become acquainted, passed through his hands. Today Wagner is Chief of Staff of the Federal Republic's Navy.

It should be said that this admiral, although defeated during the Second World War, did not lose his belligerence. In 1956 he told the world of the aims which the Federal Republic's Navy and Air Force set themselves. They will "act in order to isolate and destroy naval bases on the coast of the U.S.S.R."

Admiral Wagner dreams of a global war, in which the Federal Republic's Navy will carry out its piratical activities on many seas. Where will future theatres of naval operations be? Apparently, nothing more nor less than the

"Barents, Baltic and Black Seas, Far-Eastern waters from the South China Sea to the Barents Sea, and finally, the Arctic Ocean". Wagner pays special attention to the Baltic and Black seas, considering them as "the flanks of the European fronts against the U.S.S.R."* For operations on such a scale the German militarists of course see 172 ships and 35,000 men as only the first stage—and they do not hide the fact. For example, the ex-Hitler Admiral Zenker, who during the Second World War commanded a destroyer and who now occupies an important post in NATO naval forces—Commander-in-Chief of NATO Channel Command —declared in one of his speeches that in the Atlantic H.Q. West German representatives did not intend to be odd-job men, but wanted to share responsibility for command, to know the problems of a big fleet and to take part in establishing order on the sea lanes.

It is not difficult to guess what is meant by the word "order". The West German revenge-seekers are again dreaming of breaking out and executing their aggressive plans. With this end in view they demand a big fleet and key posts in NATO both on land and sea.

The Federal Republic's Naval Forces in the Baltic and in the North Sea are also commanded by an old regular officer who has served in the German Navy since 1918— Admiral Rolf Johannesson. He began the Second World War with the rank of admiral, commanding the building of installations and fortifications on the banks of the Elbe and Weser. After the war his thoughts turned to God and he became a consultant of the Evangelical Church. But in January 1958, feeling that familiar winds were blowing on the sea, Admiral Johannesson returned from the rarefied heights to this sinful earth and, as we had seen, rejoined the Navy. For inspiration all these Ruges, Wagners, Zenkers and the rest turn to the major war criminals Raeder and

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* Nauticus, *Jahrbuch für Seefahrt und Weltwirtschaft*, Darmstadt, 1956, S. 97.

Dönitz who have for a long time now been living in freedom in the Federal Republic and lauding the gangster-like activities of the Hitler Navy.

Raeder, like the late Führer, was recently reinstated as a Freeman of the City of Kiel, the traditional German naval base. Such a step, it was claimed, was necessary in the interests of "sound naval traditions".

These, then, are the ideas and aims of the West German Navy.

THE "KNIGHT" OF THE SEA WAR

Today, when Hitler admirals are again at the helm of the West German Navy, when West German submarines equipped with atomic and rocket weapons have again appeared on the seas, having become an impressive force, it is very useful to recall the recent past.

The total war at sea which the German U-boat fleet waged between 1939 and 1945 and the atrocities committed during these operations merit close study today.

The reader is already familiar with the former Grand Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of the Nazi Navy Dönitz, sentenced together with the other major war criminals at Nuremberg. In October 1956, having served his sentence, Dönitz was released. He was then 65. "My aim now is peace and quiet," he declared at a press conference. "A man like me, who has spent 11 years cut off from the outside world, cannot give an opinion on things that have taken place outside. I want to be silent, and I shall henceforward be silent." But within less than 18 months, this vow of silence was broken. The ex-Grand Admiral published a book called *Twenty Years and Ten Days*, from which we have already quoted. He decided to reappear not to express repentance or to warn others against the commission of crimes. No, he does not repent; he does not even defend himself. He assails those who put him and many other war criminals into the dock in 1945. The ex-Grand

Admiral categorically asserts that the verdict of the International Military Tribunal was "unfounded, unjust and wholly untenable". He cites his order to the Wehrmacht regarding the capitulation of May 9, 1945, which abounds in such phrases as: "Six years of heroic struggle. ... The German soldier ... has achieved things for his people which will never be forgotten. ... Each soldier may with pride give up the struggle." That is how the crimes of the defeated Wehrmacht are praised in Federal Republic by a war criminal. Dönitz does not, of course, forget the Nazi Navy in his book. Incense is also burnt at its altar. After all, he for many years led it in battle, and inspired its piratical activities both on the high seas and offshore. But the admiral does not content himself with literary activities, he also tries his strength as an orator. In August 1958 Dönitz addressed a rally of ex-U-boat men. He declared that the operations of Hitler's U-boats are looked upon with "pride". Now let us look at what he said when in 1945-46 he was confronted by the irrefutable proof assembled by the Nuremberg Tribunal.

On February 28, 1946 Gilbert noted in his diary the following remarks made by Dönitz while in prison: "I must say, I was furious over the idea of being dragged to trial, in the beginning, because I did not know anything about these atrocities. But now, after hearing all this evidence —the double-dealing, the dirty business in the East—I am satisfied that there was good reason to try to get to the bottom of the thing."* Gilbert recalled in this connection that when at the beginning of the trial he spoke to Dönitz who had just received the indictment, the Grand Admiral, carelessly playing with the document, pronounced it to be "typical American humour". And he declares that the forced confession of Dönitz, which was a consequence of the trial, certainly sounded quite different from his earlier remarks.

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* G. M. Gilbert, *Nuremberg Diary*, New York, 1947, p. 176.

Much material was submitted during the Nuremberg Trial which proved the gangster-like activities of the German U-boat fleet and its Grand Admiral Dönitz. During interrogation, Lieutenant Peter Heisig of the German Navy stated that in November or early October 1942, Grand Admiral Dönitz addressed officers of the Second Training Division. In this speech he gave instructions to exterminate the crews of enemy merchantmen torpedoed by German U-boats without pity and contrary to the rules of international law. Giving the reasons why it was impossible to succour the crews of torpedoed vessels, Dönitz—this "knight of sea war", as he now depicts himself in his book —declared: "By doing that, they were working for the enemy, since these rescued crews would sail again on new ships. The stage had now been reached in which total war had to be waged also at sea. The crews of ships, like the ships themselves, were a target for the U-boats."*

Captain Karl-Heinz Möhle, giving evidence at Nuremberg, described how in 1942, when he was commander of the 5th U-boat flotilla, he went to Dönitz' headquarters seeking clarification of the order regarding the annihilation of the crews of torpedoed merchant ships and forbidding aid to them. A staff officer in reply described an example cited to his officers by Admiral Dönitz himself explaining how the order should be fulfilled.

The incident concerned a U-boat in the outer Bay of Biscay. It was sailing on patrol when it sighted a rubber dinghy carrying survivors of a British plane. The commander of the U-boat made a wide circle around this rubber boat and continued on his mission. The Staff officers reproached him, saying that ... the right thing to do would have been to attack that crew.**

The Nazis not only wiped out merchant seamen; their admirals also gave instructions to falsify logs in order to

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* *I.M.T.*, Vol. V, p. 225.
** *Ibid.*, p. 233.

cover up the traces of the crime. "The sinking of a merchant ship must be justified in the War Diary as due to possible confusion with a warship or an auxiliary cruiser,"* said an order of September 22, 1939.

Dönitz was unable to deny all these facts. At the beginning of the Second World War, on September 30, 1939 the High Command of the Armed Forces issued the following directive to the Navy: "In the Bristol Channel all ships may be attacked without warning. For external consumption these attacks should be given out as hits by mines. Both measures may be taken with immediate effect."** As military operations developed, the orders regarding the war at sea became still more ruthless.

On January 3, 1942, Hitler talked to the Japanese Ambassador Oshima in the presence of Ribbentrop. At this conference the Führer explained the methods of waging war at sea employed by the German Fleet: "Merchant ships would be sunk without warning with the intention of killing as many of the crew as possible.... U-boats were to surface after torpedoing and shoot up the lifeboats."*** The unemotional record of this conference notes that the representative of Japanese imperialism "heartily agreed with the Führer's comments, and said that the Japanese, too, are forced to follow these methods".****

The British prosecutor, Sir David Maxwell-Fyfe, showed Dönitz the original of his report to the Führer dated May 12, 1942, describing a new long-range detonator for torpedoes. In it Dönitz described the advantages of this innovation: "A range pistol will also have the great advantage that the crew will not be able to rescue themselves on account of the quick sinking of the torpedoed ship."***** Grand Admiral Dönitz trained a whole galaxy of officers of

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* *Op. cit.*, Vol. XIII, p. 357.
** *Op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 216.
*** *Ibid.*, p. 219.
**** *Ibid.*
***** *Op. cit.*, Vol. XIII, p. 373.

the German Navy in this spirit. At Nuremberg a letter from the widow of a Captain Möhle was read in which she wrote that her husband had told her that "he has not found one U-boat commander who objected to the order to fire at helpless seamen who were in distress in the water".*

It is not surprising that the German Navy, reared in such a spirit and fighting on the basis of such directives, committed innumerable crimes.

On May 27, 1940, a Nazi U-boat torpedoed a British ship, the S/S *Sheaf Mead*, without warning. This is how the commander of U-37, Kapitänleutnant Ochrn, cynically describes the event: "A large heap of wreckage floats up. ... I ask a man on the raft. He says, hardly turning his head, 'Nix Name'. A young boy in the water calls, 'Help, help, please!' The others are very composed. They look damp and somewhat tired. An expression of cold hatred is on their faces. On to the old course."**

This diary fell into British hands when Kapitänleutnant Ochrn was later taken prisoner. This is how the same event was described by a member of the crew of the *Sheaf Mead* who was saved by a miracle: "Two men stood at the side with boat-hooks to keep us off. They cruised around for half an hour, taking photographs of us in the water.... Then she submerged and went off, without offering us any assistance whatever."***

When the trawler *Noreen Mary* was sunk, the seamen in the water were not only not given assistance, but were deliberately massacred. This is how the event was described by one of the seamen who survived: "I came across the broken bow of our life-boat.... The submarine ... deliberately steamed in my direction ... and fired directly at me with a short burst from the machine-gun. As their intention was quite obvious I fell into the water and remained there

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* *I.M.T.*, Vol. XIII, p. 385.
** *Op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 214.
*** *Ibid.*, p. 215.

until the submarine ceased firing and submerged.... The enemy ruthlessly machine-gunned the defenceless sailors in Number 2 life-boat."*

The prosecution read a Standing Order signed by Grand Admiral Dönitz. U-boat commanders were instructed: "Do not pick up survivors and take them with you ... weather conditions and distance from land play no part. Have a care only for your own ship and strive only to attain your next success as soon as possible. We must be harsh in this war."**

Dönitz was asked whether he acknowledged the authenticity of the documents submitted to the Court and of his signature on them, and also whether he recognised the fact that these directives were a most flagrant violation of the London Agreement of 1936 regarding the conduct of economic warfare at sea, of which Germany was a signatory. Dönitz was obliged to admit all the facts.

At Nuremberg it was established that as a result of the barbarous methods of waging sea warfare used by the German Navy 35,000 British merchant seamen alone lost their lives.***

One final example illustrating the Nazi's barbarism on the high seas. We refer to the sinking of the liner *Athenia* on September 3, 1939. The liner carried about 2,000 passengers—civilians of various nationalities, among them many Americans. The declaration of war found all these people on the high seas. The *Athenia* was torpedoed without warning and many passengers and members of the crew were drowned. The incident aroused great indignation among world public opinion. But on October 23, the Nazi Party paper *Völkischer Beobachter* published an article with a picture of the ship under the glaring headline: "Churchill sinks the *Athenia*." The article de-

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* *Op cit.*, Vol. XIII, p. 389.
** *Ibid.*, p. 369.
*** *Ibid.*, p. 356.

cleared: "The above picture shows the proud *Athenia*, the ocean giant which was sunk by Churchill's crime. One can clearly see the big radio equipment on board the ship. But nowhere was an SOS heard from her. Why was the *Athenia* silent? Because her captain was not allowed to tell the world anything. He very prudently refrained from telling the world that Winston Churchill attempted to sink the ship through the explosion of a time bomb. He knew it well but he had to keep silent. Nearly 1,500 people would have lost their lives if Churchill's original plan had turned out as the criminal wanted. Yes, he longingly hoped that the 100 Americans on board the ship would find death in the waves so that the anger of the American people, who were deceived by him, should be directed against Germany as the presumed author of the deed. It was fortunate that the majority escaped the fate intended for them by Churchill. Our picture on the right shows two wounded passengers. They were rescued by the freighter *City of Flint* and, as can be seen here, turned over to the American coastguard vessel *Gibb* for further medical treatment. They are an unspoken accusation against the criminal Churchill. Both they and the shades of those who lost their lives, call him before the tribunal of the world and ask the British people: 'How long will the office, one of the richest in tradition known to Great Britain's history, be held by a murderer?' "* That was the rhetorical question with which this lying article concluded.

In reality the *Athenia* had been torpedoed by the German U-30. Questioned about this episode at Nuremberg, the Chief of Staff of the German Navy, Admiral Schulte-Moenting, acknowledged that the Germans had sunk the *Athenia*, but at the same time declared that the article was published without the knowledge of Raeder or Dönitz. Schulte-Moenting declared that he and the Grand Admiral were "most indignant" about it.** It was estab-

* Russell, *The Scourge of the Swastika*, London, 1954, pp. 64-65.
** *I.M.T.*, Vol. XIV, p. 325.

lished at Nuremberg that the commander of U-30, Oberleutnant Lemp, was subsequently killed in action. But some members of his crew remained alive, were captured and told the facts about the episode. The officer Adolf Schmidt testified that the *Athenia* was torpedoed during the late hours of the evening of September 3, 1939 by the U-30, and that shortly afterwards he was seriously wounded and when he was going ashore Oberleutnant Lemp spoke to him privately and made him sign a declaration that he would shroud in secrecy all happenings of September 3, 1939 on board U-30 regardless whether foe or friend, and that he would erase from his memory all happenings of this day.*

But the role of Dönitz did not end there. He gave instructions for the forging of the U-30's log-book. One page with the entry referring to the sinking of the *Athenia* was removed and a new one substituted. According to the new page, at 14:00 hours on September 3 [the time the *Athenia* was sunk—*the authors*] the U-30 was 200 miles west of the position where the *Athenia* was sunk.** During the establishment of the fact that the U-30's log had been faked, the following exchange took place between Dönitz and the British prosecutor, Sir David Maxwell-Fyfe:

"*Dönitz:* 'No, it [the log—*the authors*] was not faked, but there was a clear order that the case of the *Athenia* should be kept secret for political reasons, and, as a result, the log had to be changed.'

"*Sir David Maxwell-Fyfe:* 'I see. You do not like the word "faked". Well, I will use the word "changed"; that a page was cut out of the log and a false page had been put in. Did you know about that?'

"*Dönitz:* 'Yes.' "***

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* *Op. cit.*, Vol. V, pp. 265-66.
** *Ibid.*, p. 269.
*** *Op. cit.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 390-91.

And what about the testimony of Admiral Schulte-Moenting to the effect that neither he, nor Raeder, nor Dönitz knew anything about the article in the *Völkischer Beobachter* headlined "Churchill Sinks the *Athenia*" and that he and the Grand Admiral were "most indignant"? Apparently, as Dönitz and the witness Schmidt confirmed, and as was established by the genuine documents, Dönitz and Raeder were very well aware who had sunk the *Athenia*, and deliberately falsified the documents connected with the sinking, assuming on behalf of the High Command the responsibility of giving a "political explanation" of the incident.

Such were the "knightly" ways in which the Nazi admirals and officers waged war on the high seas. That was how they committed war crimes, lied, and twisted in order to evade responsibility. That is how they lie today in their attempts to distort history.

A STRANGE DECISION

In accordance with the Charter of the International Military Tribunal not only the major war criminals but also the main organisations of Hitler Germany which the Nazi leadership have used to carry out their criminal aims were subject to its jurisdiction. These included the Reich Government, the Nazi Party, the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces (O.K.W.), the General Staff, S.A., S.S., Gestapo and S.D. The Charter envisaged that the prosecution would submit to the Court proofs of the guilt both of individuals and of these organisations. The prosecutors from the Soviet Union, the United States, Great Britain and France insisted that the O.K.W. and the General Staff be declared criminal organisations, simultaneously submitting a list of persons bearing special responsibility who should be tried as members of these criminal organisations. This list is already familiar to the reader as "List 131". What post was it necesary to occupy in the

German Armed Forces in order that one's name should appear on this list?

It included three senior officers of the O.K.W., six senior officers of the High Command of the Army (O.K.H.) five senior officers of the High Command of the Navy (O.K.M.) and six senior officers of the High Command of the Luftwaffe (O.K.L.) It also included 78 commanders of Army Groups and Armies, 15 commanders of naval flotillas and 11 commanders-in-chief of air fleets.

Hence "List 131" constituted a complete enumeration of the members of the General Staff of the Supreme Command and of the High Command of the German Armed Forces. The International Military Tribunal's declaration that the Supreme Command and the General Staff were criminal organisations would have meant that the cream of the German generals should be condemned for their membership of these bodies.

How was the guilt of the General Staff of the O.K.W. and hence of its leaders formulated in the indictment? "Functioning in such capacities and in association as a group at a highest level in the German Armed Forces Organisation, these persons had a major responsibility for the planning, preparation, initiation, and waging of illegal wars... and for the War Crimes and Crimes against Humanity involved in the execution of the common plan or conspiracy...."*

But during the Nuremberg Trial a campaign was launched by certain elements anxious to prevent the recognition of the O.K.W. and the General Staff as criminal organisations. In so doing they deliberately violated the decisions of the 1945 Crimea Conference, which spoke of the need to "break up for all time the German General Staff that has repeatedly contrived the resurgence of German militarism".**

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* *I.M.T.*, Vol. I, p. 84.

** *Report of the Crimea Conference*, 11th February, 1945, p. 4.

Since it was impossible to dispute the mass of evidence regarding the criminal activities of the Hitler generals who comprised the General Staff and the O.K.W., the defence resorted to another manoeuvre: it attempted to prove that it would not be difficult for the Four Great victor Powers to settle the question of the individual guilt or innocence of the persons named in "List 131" at individual trials.

Today we see that these Hitler generals have been at liberty for a long time and occupy prominent public and military posts in the Federal Republic. The desires of the reactionaries which were manifest as early as 1945-46 at Nuremberg have thus become reality. Some American prosecutors clearly saw and understood the danger of an acquittal of the General Staff and the O.K.W. The Chief American prosecutor, Justice Robert H. Jackson, called upon the Tribunal to condemn all criminal Nazi organisations, including the General Staff. His argumentation in support of this demand was clear and perceptive. "It seems beyond controversy that to punish a few top leaders but to leave this web of organised bodies in the midst of post-war society would be to foster the nucleus of a new Nazidom.... These organisations are the carriers from this generation to the next of the infection of aggressive and ruthless war.... The next war and the next pogroms will be hatched in the nests of these organisations as surely as we leave their membership with its prestige and influence undiminished by condemnation and punishment."*

Another prosecutor, Mr. Thomas J. Dodd, in a speech regarding the criminal organisations case, bluntly declared that to acquit the General Staff and the O.K.W. would be a far greater catastrophe than the acquittal of all the accused on trial before the International Military Tribunal. He declared that the major German war criminals were

* *I.M.T.*, Vol. I, pp. 355-56.

already unable to cause any harm, whereas such bodies as the O.K.W. and the General Staff were still in a position to continue their evil work. He underlined that "if these organisations are exonerated here the German people will infer that they did no wrong and they will easily be regimented in reconstituted organisations under new names behind the same programme".*

Dodd's point of view was supported by General Taylor in his concluding address. He gave a very expressive description of the tactics used during the trial by the representatives of the General Staff and the O.K.W.: "When called to account as a group for their crimes the famous German General Staff disintegrates, like a child's puzzle thrown on the floor, into 130 separate pieces. We are told that there is nothing there."** But, Taylor continued, as soon as a new situation arises, "the pieces reassemble themselves into pattern instantly and magically", and the old ominous picture reappears. Taylor gave a grave warning against the possibility of a resurgence of German militarism. He pointed out that this militarism could be resurrected not necessarily under the aegis of Nazism, and that the militarists would link their fate with that of any man or any party which would re-establish German militarist might. Taylor rightly emphasised that in order to render the resurgence of German militarism impossible, it was, among other things, necessary to condemn the General Staff and the O.K.W. He expressively declared that the prosecution was at grips with "something big and evil and durable; something that was not born in 1933, or even in 1921, something much older than anyone here, something far more important than any individual in the dock; something that is not yet dead and that cannot be killed by a rifle or a hangman's

* *Op. cit.*, Vol. XXII, p. 270.
** *Ibid.*, p. 292.

noose".* Calling upon the Tribunal to recognise the threat to peace that the German General Staff, symbolising predatory German militarism, represents, Taylor quoted the words of the outstanding American diplomat and statesman, Sumner Welles, who in his *The Time for Decision* wrote: "... The authority to which the German people have so often and so disastrously responded was not in reality the German Emperor of yesterday, or the Hitler of today, but the German General Staff.

"... Whether their ostensible ruler is the Kaiser, or Hindenburg, or Adolf Hitler, the continuing loyalty of the bulk of the population is given to that military force controlled and guided by the German General Staff."**

But the International Military Tribunal ignored all these appeals by the prosecution and the mass of irrefutable evidence regarding the criminal nature of the General Staff and the O.K.W. The votes of the U.S., British and French judges ensured that the General Staff and O.K.W. were not declared to be criminal organisations.

The Soviet representative did not agree with this section of the verdict, submitting a Dissenting Opinion.

It should be underlined that the verdict itself gives sufficient grounds for declaring the General Staff and the O.K.W. criminal organisations. It states that much evidence was heard regarding the participation of senior officers in the planning and waging of aggressive war, in the commission of war crimes and crimes against humanity.

"They [these officers—*the authors*] have been responsible ... for the miseries and suffering that have fallen on millions of men, women and children. They have been a disgrace to the honourable profession of arms. Without their military guidance the aggressive ambitions of Hitler

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* *Ibid.*, p. 295.

** Sumner Welles, *The Time for Decision*, New York, 1944, pp. 338, 339.

and his fellow Nazis would have been academic and sterile.... They were certainly a ruthless military caste....

"They actively participated in all these crimes... on a scale larger and more shocking than the world has ever had the misfortune to know. This must be said."*

Everything was apparently obvious, but the International Military Tribunal drew completely unexpected conclusions. Although it was common knowledge that Hitler's General Staff was a highly centralised and precisely functioning body, the verdict stated that it could not be considered an "organisation" or "group" within the meaning of those terms as used in the Charter. According to the verdict, the Hitler General Staff was not an organisation but "an aggregation of military men, a number of individuals who happen at a given period of time to hold the high-ranking military positions".**

Having been defined in this innocuous fashion, the Hitler General Staff was not declared a criminal organisation, while the verdict declared that the officers included in "List 131" could best be punished by means of individual trials. The reader well knows what was the outcome of these individual trials and what many of these officers are now doing. That is why it can with complete justification be said that in refusing to declare the O.K.W. and the General Staff criminal organisations, the International Military Tribunal left open the door through which German militarism again emerged into the light of day.

The years that followed the Nuremberg Trial demonstrated how right the Dissenting Opinion submitted by the Soviet Union had been.

The re-establishment of militarism at a high tempo began in West Germany. The U.S. rulers saw a revived German militarism as their main ally in carrying out their post-war aggressive anti-Soviet plans. This was the pur-

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* *I.M.T.*, Vol. I, pp. 278-79.
** *Ibid.*, p. 278.

pose of the farcical trials of the Hitler generals constituting the nucleus of the Nazi General Staff.

The only results of the trials conducted in West Germany by Anglo-American justice was the salvation of the Hitler Field Marshals and generals from the punishment they deserved. As is now common knowledge, they all very soon found themselves at liberty and have naturally become first assistants of Washington and Bonn in the re-establishment of an aggressive Bundeswehr.

The reader will remember that in refusing to declare the Hitler General Staff a criminal organisation the Western judges on the International Military Tribunal claimed that it was not an "organisation", that there had been no case in which the General Staff had acted as a single whole, as a group or organisation, and that the generals of the General Staff were simply military specialists to whom nothing was more alien than politics and in particular intervention in politics. It is inconceivable that such a conclusion could be reached in the light of any of the historical facts. But before many years have passed the Hitler generals themselves had amended it.

In August 1960 a memorandum of the General Staff of the Bundeswehr was published in the press. The memorandum set out an openly aggressive programme which recalled the days and ways of Hitler.

The Nazi military caste considered that the time was fully ripe for such a move. The reactionary ruling circles of the United States had torpedoed the Paris Summit Conference and broken off the work of the Disarmament Commission. International tension had immeasurably increased as a result of events in the Congo. The Hitler generals decided that this was precisely the background against which the "mighty voice" of German imperialism should again be heard for the first time in 15 years.

On July 11, 1960 the leading generals of the Bundeswehr gathered in Kiel. Reports were submitted to the

conference by the former Deputy Chief of the Nazi General Staff, the Commander-in-Chief of the Bundeswehr, General Heusinger, and the former Hitler officer who is now the Federal German Defence Minister, Herr Strauss. The Operations Staff of the Bundeswehr put forward a memorandum which set out three demands in the form of an ultimatum: the introduction of conscription, the open legalisation of atomic and hydrogen weapons for the Bundeswehr, and the further strengthening of the links between the Federal Republic and NATO.

This openly aggressive programme had been drafted by General Heusinger, a co-author of several of Hitler Germany's aggressive plans against Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, General Kammhuber*, who played an active part in the preparation and execution of the Luftwaffe's barbarous air raids on Coventry and Rotterdam, Vice-Admiral Ruge, a former assistant of the war criminal Kesselring, and General Zerbel, who took part in the attack on the Soviet Union.

The first demand of the General Staff of the Bundeswehr was the introduction of conscription. The Nazi generals are no longer satisfied by a Bundeswehr 300,000 strong. They intend to call a million Germans to the colours of aggressive German militarism within the shortest possible time.

It is not necessary to be very well acquainted with the history of the last few decades to understand what conscription means for the German militarists. Schacht and Neurath, the Ministers of the Hitler Government who together with their Führer signed the decree reintroducing conscription in Germany on March 16, 1935, are still alive. Let the citizens of Federal Germany ask them how many years of peace they left Europe after its introduction. Today the German militarists, in demanding the introduction of conscription, declare that it is necessary

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* For Heusinger and Kammhuber, see below.

as a "means of defence". It is all as though Hitler had said something different, as though the Reich Chancellor had not delivered a speech on May 21, 1935 in which he tried to calm troubled public opinion by assurances regarding Germany's peaceful intentions, although by a strange coincidence on that very same day—May 21, 1935—a secret law on the defence of the Reich was adopted which became an important landmark in Hitler Germany's preparations for aggressive war. General Thomas who directed the war economy and armaments of Hitler Germany described this law as "the corner-stone of war preparations".* Perhaps the only difference between the historical situations in 1935 and in 1960 lies in that Hitler, when introducing conscription, did not dare to speak of Germany's territorial claims against other countries, whereas his present-day pupils, Strauss and Heusinger, have for a long time been conducting an extensive campaign of revenge-seeking propaganda and do not conceal the blatantly aggressive nature of their demands for the introduction of conscription.

The introduction of conscription in Hitler Germany meant that German militarism had already begun the concrete planning for the implementation of its agressive programme.

The Decree on Conscription was adopted on March 16, 1935. By May 2, the German General Staff had completed the drafting of Operation "Schulung". This plan envisaged one of the first aggressive acts against a South-East European country, clearly having in mind Czechoslovakia. As has already been indicated above, the plan envisaged that "the operation must, on issue of the code words 'carry out Schulung', be executed by a surprise blow at lightning speed. . . ."

This was followed by an extremely characteristic instruction: "The preparation for the operation will be

* *I.M.T.*, Vol. II, p. 310.

made without regard to the present inadequate state of our armaments."*

The Hitler generals were in a hurry.

That was the position in 1935. That is also how the Hitler generals behave today. They are hastening to introduce conscription and simultaneously drawing up concrete aggressive plans.

In 1960 two prominent Bundeswehr officers fled from Federal Germany, seeking political asylum in the German Democratic Republic. One was Major Bruno Winzer, an Air Force Officer responsible for liaison with the press, while the other was Captain Adam von Gliga, an adjutant of General Kammhuber, one of the authors of the memorandum. They published data known to them regarding the West German General Staff's preparations for war against the socialist countries.

"The first idea," declared Major Winzer, "is to isolate the member countries of the Warsaw Pact from each other, also making use of Austria as an approach. I will explain: the First Army Group advances in the South, along the frontier between the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia as far as the Oder-Neisse frontier, thus cutting these countries off from each other. Then this Army Group turns north, toward Frankfurt-on-Oder and Berlin. In this way the German Democratic Republic will be cut off from Poland. Then an attempt will be made to incite Poland against the U.S.S.R., and to make her play the part of buffer-state against the Soviet Union. You will say that the idea is not new—it is one which has always appealed to the German militarists.

"As for the Second Army Group, it will move along the frontier between Czechoslovakia and Austria separating them and surrounding Czechoslovakia. It is thought in Strauss's Ministry that there will be no resistance to an invasion of Austria because the Austrian Army is weak

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* *Ibid.*, p. 343.

and furthermore will give support, as also will the Bunds of ex-servicemen who served in the old Wehrmacht. In this way the forces will quickly reach Hungary, where they hope to receive the support of armed groups. In this way Czechoslovakia will also be cut off from Hungary. The encirclement of Czechoslovakia will be completed by a flanking movement, and Hungary will be cut off from Poland. At the same time naval operations will be continued to the East and in the estuary of the Oder. The encirclement of the German Democratic Republic will be complete."*

In this way the Bundeswehr generals are adhering to Hitler's time-table in drawing up their aggressive programme, combining the introduction of conscription with the planning of aggressive war.

Therefore, the concern with which the people of Europe heard the reports of the outrageous memorandum of the West German militarists is understandable.

The aggressive demands of the West German military caste were signed by the group of ex-Hitler generals that now heads the Bundeswehr. This gave grounds for some in the West to depict the *démarche* of the Bonn militarists as an irresponsible outburst by military men allegedly having no political influence. But the Adenauer Government indignantly rejected this. It became known that the West German Defence Minister Strauss was not only familiar with the contents of the generals' memorandum, but that he had approved each point. On August 24, 1960 a representative of the Federal Government, Dr. Eckardt, replying to questions from correspondents, underlined that the ideas set out in the memorandum had the full support of the West German Government and of Chancellor Adenauer in person. Is it then necessary to point out that the generals' memorandum in effect constitutes a concrete military and political programme for the West German Government?

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* *L'Humanité Dimanche*, August 28, 1960, p. 5.

Alongside the demand for the introduction of conscription the Bundeswehr General Staff also demanded in the form of an ultimatum the legalisation of atomic and hydrogen weapons for the West German Army.

It will be recalled that for many years the peoples of the world have been waging a resolute struggle for the prohibition of atomic weapons, and for their removal from the arsenals of all countries. In its proposals for the prohibition of nuclear weapons the Soviet Union has repeatedly stressed the great danger which would confront mankind should atomic and hydrogen weapons be used. It is clear that in the hands of an aggressive military caste atomic weapons become a means for the mass annihilation of millions of people, and an instrument for monstrous provocations which can be committed unexpectedly and contrary to the will of the peace-loving countries and peoples, causing a world holocaust.

That is in fact why the West German militarists are striving to obtain nuclear weapons.

The outrageous demands of the Bundeswehr generals again clearly demonstrate the real worth of any "guarantee" or "obligation" that stands in the way of aggressive imperialist policy. It will be recalled how much fuss Western politicians and the Western capitalist press made about the Paris Agreements, which allegedly constituted an effective control and guarantee against the aggressive rearmament of Western Germany. It is these agreements that the West German militarists, in demanding the atomic rearmament of the Bundeswehr, are trampling in the mud. The Bonn militarists, having resolved to make the Bundeswehr the most powerful military machine in West Europe, consider that they have no less grounds than Bethmann-Hollweg in 1914 for describing an agreement—in this case the Paris Agreement—which is disadvantageous to German imperialism, as "a scrap of paper".

But until the West German militarists are strong enough to act alone they must seek support outside their own circle. The experience of the last decade has shown that NATO is the military organisation upon whose strength it is possible to rely, at least until it becomes possible to talk another language to Macmillan and de Gaulle. That is why, to lull their Western allies, the Bonn militarists refer in their memorandum to the need to maintain and strengthen the alliance with NATO.

The aggressive memorandum drawn up by the German militarists is in many respects reminiscent of its Nazi prototypes, and even the form in which it is set out is similar. It is difficult to enumerate how many times the document refers to "the threat of communism". Once again, as in Hitler's day, the Bonn generals are talking about the "Bolshevik menace" and "the threat from the East", using these as pretexts for their own war preparations. But lies about the "Russian threat" have already been so compromised by history that it is hard for anyone to believe them. After all, when he invaded the Soviet Union in 1941, Hitler also claimed that he was launching a "preventive war". But at the Nuremberg Trial none other than the Chief American Prosecutor, Mr. Justice Jackson, exposed this Nazi attempt to evade responsibility for aggression: "Some of the defendants argue that the wars were not aggressive and were only intended to protect Germany against some eventual danger from the 'menace of communism'.... At the outset this argument of self-defence falls...."*

Going on to discuss Hitler Germany's aggressive invasion of the Soviet Union and German attempts to depict it as "defence against Bolshevism", and simultaneously spotlighting the determination of each of the accused to pose as an opponent of the war, Jackson continued: "Even those who would have you believe that Germany

* *I.M.T.*, Vol. XIX, p. 421.

was menaced by communism also compete with each other in describing their opposition to the disastrous Russian venture. Is it reasonable that they would have opposed that war, if it were undertaken in good-faith self-defence?"*

Thus the legend which the West German militarists are now seeking to revive and use once more in the interests of their aggressive policy was exposed at the Nuremberg Trial by the prominent American lawyer and political leader.

The West German militarists resort to this poisoned theme of Goebbels's propaganda as if the Hitler regime had never existed, as if Goebbels himself, the father of the theory of the "menace of communism", had never existed. So in the Memorandum of the Bonn generals it is asserted that the German people "are constantly threatened by militant communism", that "the enemy's aim is the Bolshevisation of Germany" and that "Bolshevism" threatens peace.

Perhaps in concluding the discussion of what is the real value of such extensive propaganda exercises by Bonn we should quote the following words of the ex-Prime Minister of Great Britain Anthony Eden, spoken in 1942, when he was Foreign Secretary in Churchill's Government. Addressing a meeting in London on February 21, 1943, Eden said: "Every effort has been made and will be made to foster suspicion and to encourage dissension between the Allies. All the old paraphernalia are out again. A part in this puppet show is played by the bogey of Bolshevism. Fortunately, we do not find it hard to recognise this highly coloured figure. He is an old friend, a survival from the earliest days of the Nazi regime. A good deal of the sawdust has run out of him, and he does not answer very convincingly to the manipulations of Goebbels. But still it is as well to recall his record."**

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* *Ibid.*

** *The Times*, February 2, 1943.

Many years have elapsed and, alas, poverty of argument compels the present-day aggressors once more to make use of the same bogey, already worn out many years ago.

But in discussing the memorandum of the Bonn generals, it would be incorrect to pass by those of its authors who are not opposed to remaining backstage in this new aggressive performance. The ex-Hitler General Speidel spoke of these "backroom boys" of German rearmament when in August 1960 he addressed the annual meeting of the Association of the United States Army in Washington.

"Allow me," he declared, "to begin by expressing gratitude from the depths of my heart, and to thank you also on behalf of my country. The fact that we Germans have taken our place in the European community and assumed our obligations as regards the defence of this community together with our Allies is to a great extent due to the moral, spiritual and material support that we have received from you—the United States. For example, without that aid we could never have set up, organised and trained the armed forces of the Federal Republic.... We shall always be grateful for it and will never forget that manifestation of friendship and greatness. I would like you to know that, and I began with that in order to emphasise it."

General Speidel need not worry—it is known not only to the Association of the United States Army. It is already well known to the world. Speidel's words will be the best testimony against the American allies of the German militarists, against those who today have done everything possible to bring about the revival of Hitler militarism, which again threatens the world with war.

Speidel clearly declared that without the United States there would be no revenge-seeking Bundeswehr, and that without the aid of Washington the Kiel Memorandum of the West German generals would likewise be meaningless.

The authors of these militarist adventures are dangerous not so much because of their strength as because of their madness. They are capable of instigating a military provocation whose consequences are difficult to foresee. That is why the world greeted the new aggressive outburst of the bellicose Bonn militarists with such indignation, and that is why the determination of the people to frustrate reckless plans of aggression being hatched in Bonn and Washington is growing.

Chapter Three

THE BUNDESWEHR HEIR TO THE WEHRMACHT

"THERE IS NOT A SINGLE REVENGE-SEEKER IN MY GOVERNMENT"

Conquered Europe lay in the power of the Gauleiters and collaborators, while the invasion of the Soviet Union was being hastily prepared. Preparatory measures undertaken by the secret intelligence service of the Wehrmacht, the Abwehr, included the formation of a special battalion for operations in occupied territories in the Soviet Union. It was made up of *émigré* Ukrainian nationalists financed by the Nazis. It included the leader of these *émigrés*, Bandera, notorious for his bloody misdeeds in towns and villages in the Ukraine during the German occupation. This battalion bore the title "Nachtigall". Never before had the name of this sweet singer of the feathered world been so misused.

Doctor Paul Leverkuehn, a well-known intelligence officer and former German agent in Iran and Turkey, who is now a member of the Bundestag and of Adenauer's Party, in 1957 published a book in Frankfurt-on-Main entitled *The Secret Intelligence Service of the German Armed Forces During the War*. He writes that the "Nachtigall" Battalion, subsequently reformed into a regiment with the same name, was made up of Ukrainian nationalists and had German officers. The "Nachtigall" Battalion entered the Soviet city of Lvov on the night of June 29-30, 1941. In the words of Leverkuehn, "the battalion distinguished itself". What prompted such praise from this inveterate Hitler agent, who is now a member of the Christian Democratic Party and of the Bundestag? The reply may be found in a book by the American historian

Alexander Dallin, *German Rule in Russia 1941-45*, published in London in 1957: "During the following days of chaos it became obvious to the Germans that Bandera's followers, including those in the 'Nachtigall' Regiment, were displaying considerable initiative, conducting purges and pogroms." These words conceal a sea of human suffering and innumerable innocent victims. Here are a few facts. The inhabitants of Lvov still remember how the soldiers of the "Nachtigall" Battalion entered the town, with their yellow and blue tabs. Pogroms, looting, violence and shootings began at once. Soviet officials and Jews who had remained in the town were the first to be shot. Then on July 4, 1941 action was taken to wipe out Polish intellectuals. Not far from Kadetskaya Street leading scientists and cultural figures were shot, including a former Polish Prime Minister, Professor Kazimierz Bartel, Professor Wladimir Krukowski, Professor Roman Rencki and the famous lawyer Allerhand—30 people in all. Professor Bartel's widow told the world the tragic details of her husband's death: "Many Lvov scholars were shot by German fascists from the 'Nachtigall' unit during the first days they were in the city. The leaders of the 'Nachtigall' Battalion wanted to make my husband a Quisling. When they did not succeed they shot him."*

Professor Filip Friedmann, of New York's Columbia University, who lived in Poland in 1941, describes the atrocities of the "Nachtigall" Battalion in his booklet *The Extermination of the Jews of Lvov* as follows: "In the Lvov area the Germans broke all records for cruelty and murder. Two or three days after the Pogrom a new raid was launched in the city. About 2,000 Jews were herded into the courtyard of No. 59, Pelshinska Street. There these unfortunate people were subjected to inhuman tortures; 1,400 who survived these torments were taken to the Beloborsky Woods outside Lvov and shot." The order

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* *Die Wahrheit über Oberländer*, Berlin, 1960, S. 106.

regarding all these atrocities was given by the political leader of the battalion, Theodor Oberländer, a Professor, Doctor of Agrarian and Political Sciences, inveterate Nazi and intelligence officer.

When the political scandal caused by the exposure of his activities had reached such a pitch that it was no longer possible to ignore it, Theodor Oberländer spoke at a press conference in Bonn on September 30, 1959. He could not deny that he had been responsible for the political direction of the "Nachtigall" Battalion set up by Hitler's Military Intelligence; to do so would have been fruitless. Therefore he sought another way out. He declared that he knew nothing of the illegal activities of the soldiers of this unit although some, above all Bandera, knew a great deal about them. Bandera could say a very great deal but in October 1959 the leader of the Ukrainian nationalists, who had been Oberländer's accomplice in the "Nachtigall" Battalion and in the bloody crimes committed in Lvov in 1941, was found dead. During autumn 1959 Oberländer met Bandera and had a long conversation with him. What they discussed is not known, but the fact remains that shortly after this conversation Bandera was found dead on the staircase of his house in Kreittmayrstrasse. It also became known that after his meeting with Oberländer Bandera began to fear for his life. Stories of his "suicide" were circulated. But soon the Munich police unwillingly began an investigation. Within a few days their spokesman Schmitt "calmed" seekers after truth: "It is unlikely that the murderer will be found because he must be sought in those circles to which the criminal police do not customarily have access."

On October 19, 1959 the newspaper *Süddeutsche Zeitung* dotted the i's and crossed the t's: "The agents of extremely influential people got Bandera out of the way with the help of poison." This story is just a drop in the ocean of crimes committed by Oberländer. In spring 1945 Soviet forces seized some of the archives of the Nazi

Foreign Ministry including the so-called "Archive of Ambassador Dirksen" in the little village of Greditsberg. Among these documents was found one which is now preserved in the archives of the Nuremberg Trial of the major German war criminals under the reference "U.S.S.R. 218". It is the original of a memorandum drawn up and signed by Oberländer in autumn 1941 for the Foreign Ministry of the Third Reich. The stamp on the document reads: "Second Section of the Department of Intelligence and Counter-Intelligence of the Staff of Army Group South." The signature on the document defines the official position of Oberländer himself as head of all the sabotage activities of the Wehrmacht on the entire southern sector of the Soviet-German front.

But Oberländer is not only an intelligence officer, he is also a "scholar". He is a Doctor of Agrarian Sciences. In this capacity he enriched the archives of the Nuremberg Trial with yet another document. This was submitted to the International Military Tribunal as evidence of the Nazis' ruthless exploitation of occupied Soviet territory. Dated October 28, 1941, Oberländer's report is entitled *Prerequisites for Ensuring Transport and the Extraction of the Maximum Food Supplies from the Ukraine.* A brief study of this "work of research" gives a clear indication regarding the nature of these "prerequisites" and also of their author. "It is vitally necessary to extract from this country everything that is needed to ensure the German food supply.... The population must fear to violate the law.... For effective suppression large numbers of police and the troops are necessary.... The way to success lies through... the ruthless destruction of partisans as evil-doers."*

These were the "prerequisites" for the extraction of the maximum food supplies from the Ukraine as seen by Professor Oberländer, a process which the Nazis carried

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* *Der Oberländer Prozess*, Berlin, 1960, S. 158, 159.

out ruthlessly and which caused the starvation and death of many tens of thousands of people, among them children and old people.

But this does not exhaust Oberländer's "scholarly" activities. In the volume we had already cited, the American historian Dallin, following personal interviews with Oberländer, Schiller and Markert, writes: "Three experts on Soviet affairs: Otto Schiller, a leading specialist; Theodor Oberländer, then Professor of Economics; and Werner Markert, secretary of the Osteuropa Society in May 1941—prepared a plan for future agrarian policy [in occupied Soviet territory—*the authors*] at the request of General Lahousen, of the Abwehr [the deputy of Admiral Canaris, the chief of the Abwehr—*the authors*]. Its authors assert that their project advocated step-by-step dissolution of collective farms."*

The American investigator at Nuremberg, Lieutenant Colonel Thomas C. Hinkel interrogated Alfred Rosenberg regarding this "plan" on October 5, 1945. Rosenberg acknowledged that he knew Oberländer and that Oberländer had repeatedly reported to him, in particular regarding the plan in question. Finally, Rosenberg stated that the draft compiled by Oberländer, Schiller and Markert formed the basis for the notorious "Agrarian Order" which was put into operation in the occupied Soviet territories on February 15, 1942 and which doomed the Soviet peasantry to deprivation. Its "measures" included the introduction of slave labour for Soviet peasants. It will therefore be seen that the Federal German Minister also had considerable successes to his credit in the field of "scholarship".

Oberländer's career had been marked by many zigzags. In autumn 1941 he was appointed commander of a special battalion which received the code name "Bergmann".

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* A. Dallin, *German Rule in Russia, 1941-1945*, London, 1957, p. 324.

This battalion was formed and trained at Neuhammer from among prisoners of war. Its task was the maintenance of the so-called "New Order" and the carrying out of police functions in the rear of the German Army and the execution of punitive measures against the partisans and local population.

Criminally violating international conventions and the customs of war, Oberländer and his assistants toured the prisoner-of-war camps. Taking advantage of the fact that the prisoners, exhausted by hunger and torture, had lost all powers of resistance, they enrolled them in the "Bergmann" Battalion, threatening them with death as the alternative. They then forced them to take an oath of loyalty to Hitler. The oath was personally administered by Oberländer.

In order to intimidate the personnel of the battalion, a group of prisoners of war, including Tsiklauri and Tobidze who had declared their intention of going over to the Soviet forces when such an opportunity offered itself, was shot. At the end of 1941 in Stalag-8 seven prisoners of war from among those selected for the "Bergmann" Battalion were shot. At the Slavyanskaya stanitsa 30 prisoners of war who were in a bad physical condition were shot on the orders of Oberländer.

The stay of the "Bergmann" Battalion in the Northern Caucasus between September 1942 and January 1943 was marked by outrages, looting and violence directed against the population. The commander of one of the detachments of the "Bergmann" Battalion, Beshtokov, particularly distinguished himself in the Nalchik area. On the instructions of Oberländer, Beshtokov's accomplices shot and plundered the population, burnt houses, and sent the property they looted to Germany. Much of the plundered property was sent to Germany for Oberländer personally.

On Oberländer's orders a group of seriously wounded prisoners of war was removed from hospital in Kislovodsk and thrown out into the street. The population was

forbidden to help them in any way. Subsequently, when the Germans withdrew, the hospital was blown up, again on Oberländer's orders.

In the second half of October 1942 Oberländer personally shot 15 arrested Soviet citizens in a prison cell in Pyatigorsk. The victims included a school-teacher whom Oberländer tortured and killed in a bestial manner.

At Timashevskaya station Oberländer and a group of S.S. men blew up a water-tower together with repair workers who were at the top of it during the withdrawal of the "Bergmann" Battalion.

These and other atrocities of Oberländer have been confirmed by evidence given by former members of the "Bergmann" Battalion, including Aleskerov, Okropiridze, Mukhashavria and other eyewitnesses.

After the war the diary of Otto Bräutigam, a personal friend of Oberländer who was in the Caucasus in December 1942, was found. This is what he then wrote: "In Nalchik I met Professor Doctor Oberländer who with the rank of captain commanded the "Bergmann" Battalion formed from among select Caucasians. It was intended to use the regiment for special operations in the mountains, for example, for provocative activity among the tribes, etc. But first it was sent into action and suffered heavy losses before it could be used for its original purpose."*

Yes, indeed, the end of 1942 bore little resemblance to the warm sunny June of 1941. Oberländer and his "picked Caucasian larks" barely succeeded in making good their escape. From documents in the archive it is clear that Oberländer subsequently preferred the rear to the changing front line. From 1943 almost to the end of the war he was in charge of a training camp for Vlassovite traitors at Dabendorf, near Berlin. Then following new develop-

* "Aus den Tagebuchaufzeichnungen" von Dr. Otto Bräutigam, *Dokumentation der Zeit*, No. 115, 1956, S. 9282.

ments on the Soviet-German front toward the end of the war this "specialist in Eastern affairs" clearly began to yearn for the West. His last official duty was military correspondent in the Kurt Eggers S.S. Regiment. He wore S.S. insignia and was in 1945 captured by the Americans wearing this uniform. But even in the very last days of the Third Reich Oberländer once again showed the bestial face of a real Nazi. The end had come, but he continued to spill the blood of those fighting for liberation from the fascist yoke.

The inhabitants of the Prague suburb of Holešovice very well remember how during the uprising of May 5-6, 1945 the Fourth Company of the 305 "Volkssturm" Battalion, of which the "war correspondent" Captain Oberländer had assumed command, fired on the almost unarmed citizens of Prague taking part in the uprising and also upon innocent citizens from windows and behind cover with fanatical fury. About 2,000 citizens of Prague were killed by Oberländer's murderers. Then, with a sense of duty done, he surrendered to the Americans. His captivity was brief and he was home again in 1946. Soon he appeared in the political arena and began to set up the revenge-seeking Länder organisations. In 1951 Oberländer was appointed State Secretary for Refugee Affairs in Bavaria and in 1953 he became Federal Minister for Displaced Persons. While holding these offices, Oberländer gave every assistance, including financial assistance, to Länder organisations headed by those who had once helped him establish Hitler's Fifth Column in the countries of Eastern Europe. As a Minister he was the "ideologist" of those who are again looking to the East.

"We act in order once again to win the German East. Neither war, nor millions of dead, nor hunger could stop the German people. Germany again forms the core of a united Europe,"* he declared.

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* *Wer regiert in Bonn?*, Berlin, 1957, S. 117.

Now Doctor Theodor Oberländer is no longer a private citizen who evaded punishment as a war criminal, but a prominent statesman of the Federal German Republic, until recently Minister of Refugee Affairs. In his hands lies the destiny of more than eight million Germans or 17 per cent of the entire population of West Germany. If these Germans are able to settle down, then they will become ordinary German citizens taking part in peaceful labour, as has for a long time been the case in the German Democratic Republic. But if their resettlement is deliberately obstructed and the dissatisfaction of millions of refugees aroused in this way directed into revenge-seeking channels, as was done by Oberländer's Ministry, what then? The answer is given by Oberländer himself in his book *Overcoming the German Need.* He writes: "The victims in the future either become a stronghold of peace or dynamite."* When the choice is between the dove of peace or dynamite, Oberländer does not hesitate. His entire past, his way of thinking, his tastes and habits are all on the side of the explosive, especially when it is thermonuclear. That is why under his patronage revenge-seeking organisations embracing the whole of Western Germany such as the Union of German Expellees and Länder organisations bearing the names of the places from which the displaced persons have come began to sprout in Federal Germany like mushrooms.

It is impossible here not to recall the words used by Chancellor Adenauer in his message to N. S. Khrushchov: "There is not a single revenge-seeker in my government, I would never tolerate a single Minister who is a revenge-seeker... I was always an absolute opponent of National Socialism."

Adenauer tried to keep Oberländer in his government by every means. But the anger of the peoples and the

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* Theodor Oberländer, *Die Überwindung der deutschen Not*, Darmstadt, 1954, S. 40.

indignation of public opinion was too great when the "feats" of the Hitler war criminal and Adenauer Minister became known.

Under public pressure Adenauer began to manoeuvre and then conducted a rearguard action in an attempt to save his favourite. But under the pressure of growing public indignation he was obliged to send Oberländer on "extended leave"—in other words, to dismiss him.

Oberländer has been dismissed. But how many more are there like him in the Bonn government machine? How many more ex-Nazis still hold leading positions in the Bonn ministries?

But the fate of Oberländer is revealing. It showed the mass of the people how great is the power of public opinion when it is organised and united in its determination to fight for peace and democracy, against fascism and war.

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"LET THEIR HANDS WITHER...."

"He says only what Adenauer believes, and he himself during the course of his rapid climb to power has taken every possible attitude on important issues.... What is really frightening is the fact that none of his many friends take any of these attitudes seriously. He is one of those politicians who first find out what attitude will yield political dividends and only then takes it up. Whatever the attitude might be, he will champion with conviction, stamina and talent."* These words were written by the American journalist William S. Schlamm, and they describe the man who under the Constitution of the Federal Republic exercises supreme control over the Bundeswehr, the West German Defence Minister Franz Joseph Strauss. Naturally, guided by such "principles" and bearing in mind the present political situation in the Federal

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* William S. Schlamm, *Die Grenzen des Wunders, ein Bericht über Deutschland*, Zürich, 1959, S. 78-79.

Republic, Strauss rapidly moved to first place among the most strident revenge-seekers. The wildest militarists' calls and lunatic plans have his enthusiastic support.

The first elections to the Bundestag were held in 1949, when the German people still well remembered the horrors of the Second World War and their country's defeat. The economic plight of Western Germany was extremely grave and its cities were in ruins. This was no moment for the militarists; their hour had not yet struck, and during the election campaign Strauss assumed the pose of pacifist: "Let the hands of those who again want to grasp the rifle wither."* But as soon as he had been elected to the Bundestag and the political and economic situation had changed somewhat, he became the most zealous supporter of the militarisation of the country and of new aggressive wars. "A thunderous nonentity" was the terse and expressive characterisation given of Strauss by the former leader of the S.D.P.G., Kurt Schumacher.

Recently a book by one Barnick called *The German Aces* appeared in the Federal Republic. Strauss felt it necessary to promote its popularisation. In a special letter to its publisher he declared that he had read the book "with the greatest interest and attention". What was it that attracted the attention of the Federal German Defence Minister? "The Third World War," Barnick writes, "despite the fact that its consequences are unpredictable, is in any event the only probable way of solving the problem of German reunification.... Germany must fight even if atomic war should really be inevitable.... And of course an absolute condition is the completion of the arming of West Germany, including the establishment of rocket bases and other terrible destructive means of modern war."** So, apparently, the old Hitler plans set out in

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* *Aller Welt Feind.* Eine Dokumentation. Berlin, 1960, S. 188.

** Johannes F. Barnick, *Die deutschen Trümpfe*, Stuttgart-Degerloch, 1958, S. 27, 30 und 259.

modern terms by Barnick arouse the greatest interest and attention on the part of West German Defence Minister. It is not surprising that Strauss should find Barnick to his taste. For he himself, speaking at Hollfeld in November 1956, demanded that "the Soviet Union should be wiped off the geographical map".*

Strauss is bitterly opposed to any attempt to ease war tension or eliminate the threat of a new world war.

In March 1959 he made a speech in the West German city of Lerrach in which he declared that the disengagement of military blocs could be discussed only under certain circumstances. "Military disengagement," according to Strauss, "must be combined with political disengagement." How then must the Minister understand "political disengagement"? For him the term means nothing more nor less than the "liquidation of the Soviet zone in the East European countries".

Strauss raves about nuclear war. In spring 1959, during a visit to the United States, the Bonn Defence Minister asked to see the underground command post of the U.S. Air Force at Omaha. Here is to be found the notorious red telephone with the aid of which the order for the launching of a nuclear attack can be given. Strauss willingly posed for the press photographers standing by this symbol of atomic aggression, as if to say: "Soon I shall have my own red telephone. Just give me time." Strauss is ready to repeat his calls for the launching of a third world war anywhere and any time. In April 1959, after visiting the headquarters of the U.S. Strategic Air Command in Nebraska, Strauss made an inflammatory statement declaring that the U.S. Strategic Air Command had sufficient power to "destroy several times over the strategic expanse controlled by the Soviet Union".**

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* *Deutsche Kriegsbrandstifter wieder am Werk*, Berlin, 1959, S. 166.

** *Rheinische Post*, 24.IV.1959.

These remarks were made at the time when preparations for the Geneva Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the U.S.A., Britain, France and the U.S.S.R. were under way.

But it should not be thought that Strauss and his like have forgotten the road to the West. In 1955, before the relations between France and Federal Germany had assumed the character of an "axis" and were extremely tense, Strauss's remark that "the road to the German East lies through Paris* was published in the world press. This, then, is the true face of the Federal German Defence Minister Franz Joseph Strauss. Such is his political creed and practical aims.

The old Russian proverb declares: "The parishioners are like the priest." Naturally, Defence Minister Strauss has selected "suitable" generals and admirals to head the Bundeswehr.

THE BUNDESWEHR AND THE "HEAVENLY HOST"

The army which is being prepared for a revanchist campaign aimed at revising the frontiers in the East and West must have appropriate leading personnel. And this personnel is being found. But who is doing it? Where are these people being found? The officers are being chosen by the former Hitlerite General Kuntzen who—surprising coincidence!—was also in charge of personnel in the High Command of Hitler's Army.

The social *milieu* which furnished the officers for the armies of the Kaiser and Hitler and which must now provide officers for the Bundeswehr is the Junkerdom, the big and middle bourgeoisie. As for the generals and senior officers, they are being enlisted from among the former Hitler warriors who loyally served the Third Reich. According to foreign press reports, there are about 1,500

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* *Neues Deutschland*, 8.V.1956, S. 6.

generals and more than 100,000 officers in West Germany who served in the Wehrmacht and can be called up. Therefore, numerically this reserve is more than sufficient. Moreover, it should be remembered that more than 500 generals and senior officers of the Wehrmacht are already serving in the Bundeswehr.

When the question of the dominance of Hitlerite generals, officers and even noncommissioned officers in the Bundeswehr is raised, the favourite excuse in the Federal Republic of Germany is that the enlistment of generals and senior officers into the Bundeswehr is conducted under such conditions that only people whose loyalty to democracy is incontestable can be accepted. For this purpose the Bundestag elected a special commission of 38 members on July 18, 1955. The Commission was charged with checking up on the Hitler generals and senior officers who were to be called up again. The work of the Commission consists in the following. From time to time the Defence Minister sends a batch of applications to the Commission. The applications are distributed among the members of the Commission. If any stains in the biography of the applicants are discovered, it is necessary to clear them up. But how is this actually to be done? Are the records of the Denazification Commission used? Rombach, chairman of the Commission, answered this question in the negative: "We are not a denazification commission and we shall not question anybody."* Considering this "peculiar" aspect of the Commission's work, representatives of the press asked Rombach whether or not the Federal Department for Safeguarding the Constitution would be consulted in such cases. But Rombach also answered this question in the negative. How then were the "stains" in the biographies of each applicant investigated? Secretary of State Rombach fully satisfies the curious.

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* Wilhelm Gerst, *Bundesrepublik Deutschland unter Adenauer*, Berlin, 1957, S. 333.

Very simply: the member of the Commission working on the case of an applicant gets into a car and visits the general or colonel. In a comradely chat he finds out all that is of interest to the Commission. There is also another possibility: the meeting for such a chat may take place "in society"—somewhere in a club, or during the five-o'clock tea, or at a cocktail reception in a garden, etc., etc.

This is not a newspaper joke, but Mr. Rombach's verbatim statement concerning the method of work conducted by the notorious Commission for Checking on the Generals and Senior Officers in the Federal Republic of Germany. But since there are, in the world and in West Germany itself, quite a few living witnesses of the crimes perpetrated by the Hitler generals and colonels who are now longing for leadership in the Bundeswehr, in order that these witnesses may not, God forbid, disturb the Commission with their statements, the latter works in perfect secrecy. The list of applicants is never published. The candidacies are also discussed in similar secrecy.

Small wonder that with this "method", Heusinger, Speidel and Kammhuber safely passed this Commission. It would be strange if the opposite had been the case.

Members of the S.S., for whom the way to the Bundeswehr is now also open, are not subject even to this mild test. The right to enlist former members of the S.S. is exercised by Defence Minister Strauss personally. Thus, this part of the business is also in loyal hands.

What are the results of this Commission's work of checking on the Hitler generals and senior officers? Hardly any, if we are to judge by the information which has found its way into the press, since the Commission itself prefers to keep silent. No wonder that, as a result of this selection, the key positions in the Bundeswehr are now held by inveterate Hitlerites. This justified the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the German Democratic Republic in handing to journalists at a press conference a document

containing these facts and properly entitled: "Hitler's General Staff in Command of Adenauer's Army."

We have already acquainted the reader with biographies of former Hitlerites: Heusinger, Commander of the Bundeswehr, Speidel, leading NATO military figure, Kammhuber, Commander of the Air Force, Ruge, Commander of the Navy, and several others.

Here are several more colourful individuals. The question of the candidacy for the Commander (Inspector-General) of the Bundeswehr was discussed in the beginning of 1957. In connection with this, certain circles in the Federal Republic of Germany criticised Heusinger. His adversaries argued that, although he had had extensive experience in planning aggressive wars, he had never held any combatant posts and had not personally commanded military operations, whereas the Bundeswehr, according to its creators, is an instrument of action. Whose candidacy, then, proved the most suitable for Heusinger's critics? It was that of Walther Wenck.

...End of May 1940. Hitler's armoured columns invaded France. At that time Walther Wenck, Chief of Staff of the armoured army, issued an order to court-martial four officers of the German Army. Why? For their "too gentle treatment of the civilian population, which jeopardised the further advance of the German troops". July 20, 1944—attempt on Hitler's life. General Walther Wenck, as one of the persons most devoted to the Führer, was named for the post of the First Assistant Chief of General Staff. February 1945—moment of complete collapse of the Third Reich approaching. Wenck carried out a particularly important assignment given by Himmler. Concluding weeks and days of the war—Walther Wenck in command of the 12th Army. In the bomb shelter of the imperial chancellery Hitler issued the last orders and dictated his political and personal will and testament. At the same time he ordered General of the Armoured Troops Wenck with his 12th Army to break the encirclement of Berlin. As is well known,

Wenck failed and after senselessly shedding a lot of German blood in hopeless fighting for a hopeless cause escaped to the Americans, leaving his troops and surrendering himself.

The question of appointing Wenck Commander of the Bundeswehr was debated in 1957. This enabled the West German variety actor Günther Neumann to put several biting sentences into his radio broadcast variety programme: "In 1945 Goebbels told us: 'Wait, Wenck will come.'... We waited. And here he is now."* If Wenck did not become the Commander of the Bundeswehr, it was not because he did not suit the present rulers of the Federal Republic of Germany, but because it did not in any way suit Wenck himself. The fact is that since 1945, when Wenck's military career came to an end, the general wasted no time and made a brilliant business career. Today he is a prosperous director of an industrial enterprise dealing in blast furnaces in West Germany and abroad. In connection with this the *Economist*, British journal, remarked in a businesslike manner, when Wenck's candidacy was considered: "Herr Wenck, however, may turn the post down. In industry he is earning more than would ever come his way as Inspector-General." However, the same journal states that it was not material considerations alone that delivered Walther Wenck from the temptation of becoming the Commander of the Bundeswehr. The fact of the matter is that Wenck did not like the idea that the Military Council and, consequently, he, its chairman, the Commander of the Bundeswehr, would be subordinate to a civilian, the Minister of War of the Federal Republic of Germany. In reference to this the Swiss newspaper *Die Weltwoche* in an article "Bonn Is Looking for a General" noted: "...This conceals the old problem of the reluctance of German officers to submit to civil political power." Those were the material and other considerations for which Walther Wenck, the "last Hitlerite gener-

* *Die Weltwoche*, 8.II.1957, S. 9.

al", as he is called in the Federal Republic of Germany, has not as yet become the first soldier in West Germany. Wenck continues to sell blast furnaces. So far this pays him better, while Heusinger is in command of the Bundeswehr. Lieutenant General Röttiger, Commander of the Land Forces (Inspector of the Land Forces), is an old professional soldier. He began his military career in 1914 and served under the command of two generals who had created the Reichswehr; his patrons were the future Chief of Staff Beck and Colonel General Reinhardt. Like Heusinger and Kammhuber, he served in the disguised General Staff of the Reichswehr. Since 1931, evading the Versailles Treaty, he took part, in the same capacity, in secretly forming the German armoured troops. Later, in Hitler's time, he served in Guderian's Staff and in 1938 headed this Staff. During the war he personally tested Guderian's armoured doctrine by heading the Staff of the 41st Armoured Corps during the offensive against Leningrad.

Quickly climbing the rungs of the service ladder he headed the Staff of the 4th Army on the Soviet-German front and then the staff of a group of armies. The field of his military activity included Leningrad Region, Kuban and the Crimea. His evidence also figured at the Nuremberg Trial. Confronted with incontrovertible facts he was forced to confess the slaughter of prisoners of war, guerrillas and Jews who happened to fall into his hands. "As Chief of Staff of the 4th Army, to which the area of the 9th Army was later added, I frequently chanced to be officially connected with the anti-guerrilla war.... The troops were given orders by the higher authorities, even the Army High Command, to use the cruelest methods in order to make possible the ruthless annihilation of Jews and other undesirable elements using for this purpose military operations of the army proper."*

Thus, in his evidence given on December 8, 1945 and

* *I.M.T.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 478.

submitted by the American prosecution at the Nuremberg Trial, Röttiger, present Commander of the Land Forces of the Bundeswehr, firstly, refutes the legends now spread in the Federal Republic of Germany by himself and his colleagues to the effect that the Wehrmacht had nothing to do with the atrocities, particularly the genocide; and, secondly, admits that he perpetrated these bloody military crimes himself. After suffering a series of defeats in the U.S.S.R. Röttiger went to the Italian front where he continued to act in the same spirit as Chief of Staff of the Army Group Centre. The end of the war found him interned in an American camp. Then he was unexpectedly released, after which he quietly served in a commercial firm and headed the Hamburg branch of the Society of Military Sciences. But when the Bundeswehr needed "specialists in Russian affairs" Röttiger was just the man.

And here is a short biography of Major General Heinrich Hax, Commander of the 3rd Army Corps of the Bundeswehr. During the Second World War he served on the Soviet-German front as Commander of the 8th Armoured Division. In 1945 he was taken prisoner by the Soviet Army and was convicted as a war criminal. In 1956, after serving his time, he returned from the Soviet Union to West Germany. His biography seemed to suit the Personnel Department of the Bundeswehr and the Commission for Checking on the Generals so much that he was immediately enlisted in the Bundeswehr with the rank of Brigadier General and was appointed Commander of the 3rd Armoured Division. In 1958 he was promoted to Commander of the 3rd Army Corps.

Until recently Major General Helmut Laegeler headed the Department of Land Forces of the War Ministry of the Federal Republic of Germany and, since the appointment of Röttiger to this post, has become his assistant and Chief of Staff of the Land Forces. Laegeler comes from an officer's family and has been a professional offi-

cer since 1921. He was graduated from a military academy and during the preparations for the Second World War served in the Operations Department of Hitler's General Staff elaborating together with Heusinger plans for aggressive wars. During the Second World War he served in the East, in particular as Chief of Staff of the 57th Armoured Corps which was routed near Stalingrad.

After suppression of the conspiracy of July 20, 1944, Laegeler, as a particularly reliable general, was appointed, on Himmler's recommendation, Chief of Staff of the reserve troops, in place of Colonel Stauffenberg who had placed the bomb in Hitler's study on July 20, 1944. This biography quite deserves being given the rank of Major General of the Bundeswehr for.

Brigadier General Oskar Munzel, head of a tank school of the Bundeswehr, is also worthy of note. He is a former general of the Wehrmacht and one of Guderian's closest collaborators. In 1940 Hitler decorated him with a Knight's Cross for participation in the defeat of France. In addition to his practical activity, Munzel also goes in for theory and is one of the literary executors of Guderian's will. In 1956 he published his posthumous memoires entitled *The Armoured March.*

...The 4th Motorised Division was one of the first to be formed in Regensburg. Brigadier General Spitzer was appointed second in command of this division. After the First World War he had the following career: police, Reichswehr, Wehrmacht, police again and, finally, the Bundeswehr.

In 1945, when nobody had any more use for Hitler's officers, Colonel of the General Staff Spitzer went to work for a commercial firm in Mannheim, but as early as 1951 he was remembered and he became one of the prominent figures in the border police of the Federal Republic of Germany. Thus Spitzer found himself at the sources of his old career again. He was once more a police colonel. Maintaining connections with the war criminal Field Mar-

shal General Manstein, Spitzer worked out under his supervision a project of a territorial army 2.5 million strong to exist side by side with the Bundeswehr. When the border troops began to be incorporated into the Bundeswehr, Spitzer assumed his fighting post. He controlled the incorporation of the border police units into the regular army formations. Then he received a general's shoulder-straps and went to Regensburg to form the 4th Motorised Division. When he came to Regensburg the barracks there were empty. Today they are full.

...In the past Major General Reinhardt was "ruler" of Denmark and a war criminal. Today he is Chief of the Troop Administration of the Staff of the Land Forces of the Bundeswehr. Brigadier General Otto Schaefer, participant of the aggression against Norway, Yugoslavia, Poland and the U.S.S.R., is now in command of a corps in Ulm.

General of the Bundeswehr von Horn committed outrages during the occupation of France, General Huth bombed Poland, General Wilhelm Meyer-Detring commanded armoured troops on the Eastern front, General Klaus Müller commanded an armoured corps during the Second World War, and General Burkhart Müller-Hillebrand headed the staff of an armoured army in the Wehrmacht.

...In June 1959 the *Neues Deutschland* published a photo copy of one of the orders issued by the Hitlerites in occupied Soviet territory in the very beginning of the German aggression against the U.S.S.R., July 23, 1941. The order read laconically and unambiguously: "The villages near which German soldiers are attacked will be razed to the ground and the inhabitants hanged." The original of the order bears a clear signature: Johann-Adolf von Kielmansegg. He is one of the war criminals whose hands are stained with the blood of millions. Before taking part in the war Kielmansegg exerted no little effort to unleash it. He worked out the plans of aggressive operations against Poland, Luxemburg and France. For all these "meritorious services" Count Kielmansegg was included on

the NATO Staff in Paris as a representative of the Federal Republic of Germany. It goes without saying, he is a fitting representative for the NATO Staff located in Paris, France's capital. It was he who in 1941, as a colonel of the Wehrmacht, wrote the book, *Tanks Between Warsaw and the Atlantic*. In this book Kielmansegg shared with the readers the feelings he had as he marched with Hitler's troops through France, destroying everything on his way. "I felt like a purebred racehorse," he wrote. The French campaign ended and the author, kneeling before Hitler, says: "We report that we have fully accomplished the mission assigned to us by history, Germany and the Führer.... And nobody's gratitude can fill us with greater pride than the gratitude of the Führer." Today Kielmansegg is in West Germany again; he is second in command of an armoured corps in Coblenz.*

Since the key posts in the Bundeswehr are held almost exclusively by generals, admirals and officers of Hitler's Wehrmacht, we cannot but note their old "meritorious services" during the aggressive campaigns of the Second World War. For this reason the government of the Federal Republic of Germany granted them the right to wear the old Hitler decorations. Now everything seems to be in place, even the ribbons. It is on such foundations that the Bundeswehr is being formed.

But even this selection of cadres did not satisfy Theodor Blank, Strauss' predecessor at the post of Defence Minister. It seems he was annoyed even by the semblance of activity shown by the notorious Commission for Checking on the Generals, already familiar to the reader. In this connection Blank stated: "It may look as if we are trying to build up an army of the heavenly host only."

If the Hitler generals and admirals enumerated by us are heavenly angels, poor hell is undoubtedly doomed to protracted desolation.

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* Johann-Adolf von Kielmansegg, *Panzer zwischen Warschau und Atlantik*, Berlin, 1941, S. 138, 248.

It is not without reason that Hitler's generals and officers are hastening to join the Bundeswehr. They are faced with the problem of creating in a short time a numerous West German Army equipped with all modern means of destruction and annihilation.

Strauss began elaborating new and far-reaching plans for expanding the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Germany as far back as 1957. He put forward the slogan of "equality" of the Federal Republic of Germany with her NATO partners. This means that West Germany may claim the same strength of the army as Britain and France. True, Strauss did not mention any figures, but this was done for him by commentators of West German newspapers. They reminded the readers that during the negotiations in the Committee of the UNO Disarmament Commission a figure of 750,000 was proposed as the maximum for the armed forces of Britain and France. The reader therefore had no difficulty in drawing the conclusion that Strauss demanded the same strength for the Bundeswehr. But even such an army is considered insufficient. According to war criminal Field Marshal General Manstein's theory known as the "Sword and Shield", the Bundeswehr must play the role of the striking instrument ("Sword") and must be supported and protected by the troops of the territorial defence 2.5 million strong ("Shield"). That is why, while discussing in a businesslike manner the plan for creating a territorial defence 2.5 million strong, the West German newspaper *Deutsche Soldaten-Zeitung* wrote as far back as 1957: "In this [in creating the territorial defence—*the authors*] the reserve officers and noncommissioned officers play the decisive role. It is they who, in case of dire necessity, are really ready for action."

Then, what is the matter? anyone may ask. It is well known that Hitler's generals, officers and noncommissioned

officers are enlisted in the Bundeswehr without any difficulty. It turns out that the *Deutsche Soldaten-Zeitung* meant the S.S. people. To be sure a few thousand of them are already serving in the Bundeswehr. But what is a few thousand when, as the newspaper reports, there are "400,000 former S.S. front-line soldiers, among whom there is a large group of very well trained officers and noncommissioned officers". Meanwhile, the newspaper voices its indignation, the Second Amendment to Article 131 of the Constitution in some measure prevents the gates leading to the Bundeswehr from being thrown wide open to the hundreds of thousands of S.S. people. And the *Deutsche Soldaten-Zeitung* bursts into an irate philippic: "...The former S.S. troops are being refused the status of soldiers. Then, how are they to be drawn into the territorial defence? As civilians? To this they will apparently say, 'Thanks', and they will be right."

An active campaign to rehabilitate the S.S. has begun in West Germany, aimed mainly at creating conditions for an extensive and unfailing enlistment of S.S. people in the Bundeswehr. For this purpose a "Mutual Aid Society of the Former S.S. Troops" was organised as early as 1953 with a single centre, the Federal Relations Bureau, headed by S.S. generals Steiner and Gille. It is they who are aiding the 400,000 former S.S. troops. The S.S. journal *Wiking-Ruf*, which has long been waging a zealous struggle for complete rehabilitation of the S.S., pathetically exclaims in one of its articles: "Was it not the S.S. troops who in their time made the first sacrifices in the East in the name of the European idea?"

The Bonn Chancellor himself came to the aid of the *Wiking-Ruf* by directly stating in Hanover that "...the S.S. troops are not responsible for the atrocities perpetrated by the Hitlerites during the Second World War".

Small wonder that under these circumstances a special order permitting the enlistment of the S.S. people in the

Bundeswehr was issued in the autumn of 1956. On March 19, 1956 the Federal Defence Ministry even drew up a special list of "conformities" between the ranks of the former S.S. troops and those of the Bundeswehr. Thus, according to this list, "a private of the S.S. joined the Bundeswehr in the rank of grenadier and an Obersturmbannführer of the S.S. was given the rank of lieutenant colonel".

SIGNIFICANT METAMORPHOSIS

At a sitting of the Bundestag on February 1, 1957 Deputy Schmidt notified the Parliament that he had received a service report on the work of the courses organised by the Bundeswehr. The report indicated that speakers from the so-called "League of Democratic Circles" had been invited to these courses. One of them, a Dr. Lindner, stated that an encounter, and a "hot encounter", of course, with the Soviet Union was inevitable. In this connection Deputy Schmidt said: "This is how the words are interpreted, which the Federal Chancellor, 'the great statesman', uttered in Gürzenich, Cologne, when he said that the Soviet Union was a mortal enemy. Just think to what dangerous revanchist ideology can this lead."* In answer to this the deputies from the left shouted that "the troops were already permeated with it". Deputy Schmidt also quoted the statement of Jahn, the Chairman of the League of Democratic Circles, who said that the British had not tackled the Suez Problem skilfully enough: "We would have attacked on a wide front during a single night, would have seized all points and only then would have announced to the world: 'Everything is already in our hands.' "**

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* Wilhelm Gerst, *Bundesrepublik Deutschland unter Adenauer*, Berlin, 1957, S. 358-59.

** *Ibid.*, S. 359.

At the same time Jahn spoke scornfully about President Eisenhower: "Nobody could have done worse than he did by constantly preventing the guns from speaking up." And lapsing into a Goebbels trance he exclaimed: "Only clowns representing the German press can drivel about negotiations with the U.S.S.R. on the question of reunion. A clash with the Soviet Union is inevitable."* And it is such people who are now educating the young generation of West German soldiers.

No wonder that under these conditions the German generals are demanding the establishment of a military dictatorship. Thus, in the *1955 Almanach of the German Soldier*, Hitler's general Hadler exhorted:

"War has become a permanent phenomenon. Strategy has become the law of life. All power must be vested in military leaders."**

Hadler is not alone. A circular published by one of the brigadier generals of the Bundeswehr was quoted at a sitting of the Bundestag. The circular read: "The parliamentary opposition which will incur the hostility of the state's armed forces cannot expect the soldier to recognise it and even fight for it out of conviction if it forms a government after elections."***

Translated into plain human language this high-flown statement means that the Armed Forces want to put themselves above the state. The political parties must dance to the generals' tune and, if they miss step, they must blame themselves for it. The Army will not recognise the government they will form. Such views are encouraged by Adenauer's Government. In reference to this circular the Minister of Defence was asked whether or not such

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* Wilhelm Gerst, *Bundesrepublik Deutschland unter Adenauer*, Berlin, 1957, S. 358.

** W. Hadler, "Die Lehre aus zwei Weltkriegen", *Der deutsche Soldatenkalender*, München, 1955, S. 33.

*** Wilhelm Gerst, *Bundesrepublik Deutschland unter Adenauer*, S. 358.

people could be appointed commanders of divisions. Strauss answered that he did not see anything out of the way in it, since accidents could always happen either through somebody's fault or as a result of unpremeditated steps, when an enormous army apparatus has to be created in so short a time. In this connection Gerst observes that in the past, at the time of the Weimar Republic, when such facts came to light, General Schleicher at least promised to investigate the facts and punish those who were guilty, whereas Strauss does not even do that.*

And how can this division commander be punished if the Bundeswehr Soldier's Handbook whose publication is financed by the Press and Information Department of Adenauer's Government reads black in white: "A soldier is in the service of his country's political leadership. He must do of his own will more than he is ordered to do. He cannot do this if he does not approve his country's political ways."** Very recently, when Hitler's warriors were regarded as war criminals, they told the world that the generals had nothing to do with politics, that they were outside of politics, that they were soldiers who carried out orders and could not bear any responsibility for them. But now that West Germany has been remilitarised and the war criminals have been amnestied, they have spoken their real minds. The generals dictate what they deem necessary and, if the politicians do not carry it out, let them blame themselves for it and let them know that the Armed Forces are not with them, but against them.

A significant metamorphosis, indeed.

WHO LIVES WELL IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY!

The foregoing shows that hundreds of Hitler's generals and senior officers are serving in the Bundeswehr.

But it also shows that there is still a very large reserve

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* *Ibid.*, S. 359.
** *Ibid.*, S. 358.

of these "valuable cadres" in West Germany. There are 1,500 generals and more than 100,000 officers who served in the Wehrmacht and who can be called up. Touching concern is displayed for this reserve in the Federal Republic of Germany. This concern was well depicted by Rudolf Petershagen, a German colonel who commanded a regiment near Stalingrad, in his book *Rebellious Conscience.* In the Third Reich this officer was decorated with the Knight's Cross. Unlike the other Hitler officers, he learned a good lesson from his experience during the Second World War: he has become a convinced anti-fascist. But for this an appropriate place was found for him. He was committed to the Landsberg Prison where he spent many years.

By irony of fate his jail-mates were German war criminals. Moreover, whereas Petershagen was given the bare necessaries of life, the war criminals enjoyed all comforts and received excellent rations. What agitated the minds of the generals and officers, the war criminals kept in this prison? Perhaps the thoughts about prison life for many years to come? No, this was the least of their concerns. The political climate was changing in their favour and they expected to be released almost any day. This is why the war criminals in the Landsberg Prison were interested mainly in Article 131 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany. The fact is that after the crash of May 8, 1945 the allied authorities discontinued all payments to the personnel of the Wehrmacht. And how could it have been otherwise? The Allied Control Council confirmed this with a law (No. 34 of August 20, 1946). The law applied to all those who had served in the Wehrmacht. But in 1948 the occupation authorities in West Germany resumed the payment of gratuities to the former servicemen, who were granted a right to a pension with the exception of two cases, i.e., if this right was not cancelled by decision of a court, or if the persons claiming a pension had been convicted for crimes against humanity. When the Federal Republic of Germany was formed the purport of

this law was preserved in Article 131 of the Constitution which in the beginning also deprived the war criminals of the right to a pension. However, Bonn hastened to reassure the imprisoned generals. A legal formula making it possible to introduce a number of corrections and amendments to Article 131 of the Constitution was found. This was done under the pretext that the "infringement on the rights of part of the servicemen violates the basic right of all citizens to complete equality before the law". Thus, in the question of pensions, a light legal vault placed honest workers on a par with the gravest war criminals. For this purpose the war criminals "who were under arrest in a foreign state" were regarded as "prisoners of war". At the same time the foregoing corrections applied, curiously enough, only to the highest ranks in the Bundeswehr. The soldiers gained nothing by it. Since Article 131 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany was "appropriately" altered and amended, even the Gestapo and S.S. people were granted pensions.

But that was not all. The new pension and additional gratuity rights for the war criminals were antedated as of 1951. The recalculation of the "pensions" at once gave Hitler's generals, the war criminals, large sums of money. A bonus was additionally introduced for each day Hitler's officers and generals had been kept in prison.

Moreover, by the time the war criminals were released from prison, they had received, for a period of one year, on a par with the released prisoners of war, a salary equal to that they had been paid in the Wehrmacht. Thus, the highest ranking war criminals were entitled to a single gratuity of 40,000-60,000 marks and a monthly pension of 1,500-2,500 marks.

Petershagen testifies that after these legislative reforms an "epidemic" of designing mansions broke out in the Landsberg Prison. Awaiting their release from day to day the war criminals acquired homes befitting their positions and habits.

DEMOCRATIC EXTERIOR AND REACTIONARY INTERIOR

The reactionary essence of the Bundeswehr is concealed under a democratic decorum. Too much attention is sometimes paid to this exterior of the organisation of the Bundeswehr by foreign observers who are in danger of failing to see the trees for the forest. Hanson W. Baldwin, *New York Times* military editor, published in *The New York Times Magazine* of December 1, 1957 an article entitled "The New German Army".

In that article he reported on the new considerable changes he had found in the Bundeswehr compared with the Wehrmacht. But what are these changes? "Privates shake hands with their officers: the heel clicking, the 'Jawohl', the 'Herr Hauptmann' form of address, the rigid saluting of the past are not required. There is no regulation haircut. Officers and men eat the same food, sometimes in the same mess hall. The sign '00' points to the same field latrine for all, from division commander to private."

In addition to these "essential" signs of democracy, Baldwin, like the other authors, notes that the ability to reason and to display initiative on the march and in battle is developed in the officers and soldiers; in this he also sees an element of democratisation. But does this really signify any democratisation of the Bundeswehr as a military organisation? It certainly does not. The revanchist German militarism has learned a serious lesson from the defeats of 1918 and 1945 and has therefore relinquished a good deal of the traditional Prussian complacency. The emphasis is being transferred from unquestioning execution of orders to a form of orders which convince the subordinates and explain to them the aim of these orders. The subordinates are given to understand the consequences that may ensue from failure to carry out orders. The higher commanders take into consideration the individual faculties of those who fulfil the orders, their individual

mentality and personal dignity, because the orders are addressed to them and it is they who have to execute them. Compared with the old Prussian school this is undoubtedly an innovation. Hitler's Wehrmacht was trained in the spirit of reproducing the Service Regulations patterns. Today the leadership of the Bundeswehr is inculcating initiative in the officers and men and the greatest self-reliance.

New forms require new methods. For this purpose a school has been set up in Coblenz for battalion commanders, staff officers and noncoms; the school aims at teaching these cadres "internal leadership". Here the officers are taught the art of ensuring obedience of the soldiers under new conditions. To do this the officers must be able to explain to the soldiers what they are fighting for. Of course, in these cases the truth must be carefully concealed and the lie must be so skilful as to be able to make these people risk their lives for the wicked cause of reaction.

The service conferences, called "Council of Ideological Administration" and conducted every fortnight with the participation of all officers and even physicians and priests in the staffs of battalions of the Land Forces and corresponding units of the Navy and Air Force, serve the same purpose.

It should be noted that the new methods of drilling and duping the soldiers bear fruit, and a considerable section of the soldiers is pro-fascist-minded and is an obedient tool in the hands of the Bonn revanchists, although many honest young officers refuse to continue serving in the Bundeswehr. "This is not a new army with new morals," one of them said, "but a new army with very old ideas and revanchist ideas at that."

The West German journal *Der Spiegel* cited a very characteristic feature which confirms this idea. After visiting armoured units the correspondent of this journal quoted the song which the "tank grenadiers" sing in their barracks:

Crimson offshoots of the sunset,
On the mountain summits fall,
On and on to death or triumph
Our valiant tankmen roll....
Almost half the world we conquered
Narvik, Rotterdam, Corinth....
Always moving in the vanguard
Forging on, to die or win.

You can imagine how a British captain or Dutch rifleman, allies of these "tank grenadiers", would feel if they chanced to enter their barracks and hear their song. They would probably pinch themselves to make sure they were not dreaming and that these were not Hitler's boys come back from the graves.

While concentrating on training the soldiers in the spirit of militarism and revanchism, the Bundeswehr does not, of course, overlook the officers. The newspaper *Deutsche Soldaten-Zeitung* paints the following picture of the Bundeswehr officer: "No new type of officer is needed; we want only a first-class officer. The German officer must remain as he was. Here we have nothing to learn from others.... The future officer must satisfy the same requirements as he did before." The attention of the Bundeswehr command is therefore concentrated on the ideological training of the officers, in addition to their military training.

An article "Politics and Prosecution of War in a New Light", published in the military journal *Wehrwissenschaftliche Rundschau*, points out that one of the immediate tasks of an officer is the training of his subordinates in a spirit of "political immunity against hostile propaganda".

At the same time, the journal points out, an officer must be ready to exert a psychological influence on the enemy's troops and population in the rear or in occupied areas.

A wide network of military schools is aimed at training Bundeswehr officers to accomplish these tasks. An acade-

my of land forces has been functioning since April 1957. The instructors are former officers of Hitler's General Staff who commanded army units during the Second World War. Officers' flying schools are working on the basis of the old military schools in Landsberg, Fürstenfeldbruck, Memmingen, Kaufbeuren and Lechfeld. The naval schools are located in the traditional German naval bases. A school in Coblenz is turning out officers for ideological training of the Bundeswehr. A Higher Military Academy of the Bundeswehr is functioning in Heidelberg.

In Adenau, near Bonn, there are special courses for additional training of senior officers and generals appointed to command posts in the Bundeswehr. Here former Hitlerite servicemen are improving their qualifications.

It should be noted that none of these very alarming symptoms which characterise the Bundeswehr as a clearly reactionary and aggressive force escape the attention of Western observers. True, the latter do not always draw correct conclusions from their observations, but the very statement of fact already deserves some discussion.

In the already quoted article "The New German Army", concerning the democratisation of the relations between the privates and the officers of the Bundeswehr, Hanson Baldwin tells a good deal else which is much more important and which is at variance with the idea of democracy. Baldwin visited the Officers' Casino (club) of a mountain division in Mittenwald and the first thing that struck his eyes was a large portrait of Hindenburg, "archetype of the German general of the past", on the wall.

Small wonder that it is Hindenburg who is a symbol and banner, since, as Baldwin states, "virtually all of the German officers and all senior noncoms are old soldiers of the former Wehrmacht". It is not surprising that under these conditions, as *The London Times* points out in its issue of October 10, 1957, "the life of the private soldier in the Bundeswehr does not differ greatly from that in the old Wehrmacht". One German officer told Baldwin, reported

The New York Times Magazine on December 1, 1957, that even those modest elements of "democracy" which existed when the Bundeswehr was being organised [for example, the notorious Commission for Checking on the Generals—*the authors*] will soon also disappear: "Now they [the Germans—*the authors*] are shifting away from this excessive zeal for military democracy: These things will have to change—and they will change in time." One woman frankly said to Baldwin: "... Just wait until the Junkers come back, till the Prussians take hold.... You will see then that all these new rules and orders will disappear. I know, for I was born a daughter of a Junker." And Baldwin is forced to a rather dismal conclusion: "Opposite Scylla lies Charybdis—the danger of too much militarism, of creating a 'state within a state.'"

Fritz Allemann, author of the book *Bonn Is Not Weimar*, clearly sympathises with the West German state, but he, too, is forced to admit the extremely dangerous tendencies in the development of this state. Allemann reminds the reader of the fatal role the Reichswehr played in the history of the Weimar Republic by ensuring the coming of Hitler to power. He writes that Weimar's tragedy lay in the fact that the Republic was unable to transform the army into an instrument of the state, as a result of which the state became "an instrument and field for the experiments of politician-generals who were carrying on intrigues". The same problem is arising today. Allemann states soberly that the greatest danger has arisen in the development of the Bonn state, since "... a state without traditions must entrust its defence to the army which has traditions, but alien and perhaps even hostile to the state".* This formula is not quite correct because the Bonn state has the same traditions of revanchism and militarism which imbue its army. It is the combination of such "traditions" of the state and the armed forces that produces the dangerous

* Fritz René Allemann, *Bonn ist nicht Weimar*, Köln-Berlin, S. 368, 369, 372.

tendencies in the development of the West German Republic. These tendencies appear particularly menacing if we recall the statement made by a prominent American general whom Baldwin does not name: "... By 1962 the new German armed forces may well be the most modern in Europe."*

The same idea is reflected in William Schlamm's book, *The Limits of Miracle*, in which he writes: "Not one German military specialist I know doubts that Germany plays the chief role in any European defence system and, especially, in NATO."**

But even such Bundeswehr does not appeal to many reactionary West German leaders. They would like to build it completely after the old Prussian military fashion even without taking the present historical situation into account. Johannes Barnick, widely advertised by Defence Minister Strauss, is a typical representative of these reactionaries. His ideal is the transformation of the Federal Republic of Germany into a "military democracy" whose bearer is only the man who can wield a weapon. Therefore, this reactionary state structure must be based on a so-called union of men. According to Barnick, woman is an enemy of democracy, since she diverts man from politics and war and forces him to make the family and earnings his chief concern. Barnick paints a state picture of this notorious "military democracy" with wide strokes of the brush. Suffrage is granted only to persons who have successfully gone through military service.***

"Service with arms in hand is an elementary lesson in democracy," preaches Barnick. Only those who have gone through this "school of democracy" must form the foundation of the society which Barnick considers ideal. Every

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* *The New York Times Magazine*, December 1, 1957, p. 137.

** William Schlamm, *Die Grenzen des Wunders, Ein Bericht über Deutschland*, Zürich, 1959, S. 95.

*** Johannes Barnick, *Die deutschen Trümpfe*, 1958, S. 278, 285, 291 und 292.

community must have a house, a sort of club, in which the persons who served in the army may assemble, and "not one woman should have the right to enter this house even if she has a mop or broom in her hands". Only at the gatherings of these or former soldiers must the electors be elected who in their turn will elect the deputies to the Bundestag.* Such is Barnick's ideal of social life.

Barnick who wrote this reactionary nonsense is himself of very little interest. Interesting is the brilliant response which his book elicited in the Ministry of Defence of the Federal Republic of Germany.

WHO KEEPS THE ATOMIC WEAPONS UNDER LOCK AND KEY?

Today the world is anxiously watching the most redoubtable means of destruction ever known to human history, the atomic and rocket weapons, being put into the hands of a reactionary and revanchist army. The Bundeswehr is being prepared for an atomic war. The question of arming the Bundeswehr with atomic weapons has travelled a complex and arduous way. The Paris Agreements of 1955, as their authors asserted, presumably excluded the possibility of equipping the Bundeswehr with nuclear weapons. This was also solemnly declared by the West German leaders who signed these Agreements. It is already clear today, however, that this was the usual propaganda ballyhoo aimed at concealing the true purport of the events. In the spring of 1957, at one of the press conferences in Bonn, Adenauer waived his former promises by stating that he considered arming the Bundeswehr with atomic weapons inevitable. Did Adenauer's words perhaps arouse discontent in the West? Alas! In December 1957 the NATO session passed a decision to equip the Bundeswehr with atomic and rocket weapons. Then the events developed as follows. On February 25, 1958 the American General Nor-

* Johannes Barnick, *Die deutschen Trümpfe*, 1958, S. 297-98, 299.

stad appeared on the West German television. He insisted that the decisions of the NATO Council should be carried out as quickly as possible and said: "Atomic weapons for the German Army were 'absolutely indispensable', for the successful defence of the East."*

On March 25, 1958 the Bundestag of the Federal Republic of Germany adopted a resolution to arm the West German Armed Forces with atomic and rocket weapons. The preparation of German militarists for atomic war was thus sanctioned by the Parliament of the Federal Republic of Germany. The purchase and, soon afterwards, the delivery of rockets from the U.S.A. began as early as March 27; the rockets included the Matador, Nike, Honest John, renamed by the Bonn "patriots" into Honest Hans, and others, capable of carrying nuclear warheads.

The entire combat training and organisational structure of the Bundeswehr are already based on their utilisation in an aggressive nuclear and rocket war. This was vividly demonstrated by the large-scale manoeuvres of the Bundeswehr in September 1958 in the presence of observers from the U.S.A. and other NATO members. The manoeuvres were carried out under conditions simulating an atomic war and using nuclear weapons, as yet, of course, dummies. Since the peoples justly fear the terrible consequences of such a policy, an intense propaganda campaign aimed at allaying the legitimate anxiety of the masses of the people was begun. It was not without Strauss' participation; on July 19, 1958 the newspaper *Neue Züricher Zeitung* carried his article under the high-sounding title of "The Price of Peace". He claims that peace is impossible without arming the Bundeswehr with rocket and atomic weapons. Here is the way he reasons: "To ensure peace and freedom, it is no longer enough that only the U.S.A. and Britain should have strategic nuclear weapons as a means of intimidation." The Minister does not explain why, but it seems that the security of the free world can

* *New York Times*, February 26, 1958, p. 5, Col. 1.

be ensured only when the atomic and rocket weapons will be in the hands of the Hitler generals. Any other arrangement "would spell disintegration of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation".

Aware of the fact that such reasoning cannot convince and, especially, reassure anybody, Strauss wrote that the nuclear weapons would remain in the hands of the Americans alone, would not be placed at the disposal of Continental Europe, including the Federal Republic of Germany, and mass utilisation of nuclear weapons was thereby excluded. These weapons could be used only by the Supreme Command of the NATO Armed Forces in Paris, i.e., the American generals. Thus attempts were made to reassure those who resented having the nuclear weapons placed at the disposal of the Hitler generals. But this assertion made by Strauss and other prominent leaders of the Federal Republic of Germany was also merely a propaganda lie. The Euratom and the so-called "Armaments Triangle"—Bonn-Paris-Rome—had already been created in 1957. On the basis of these agreements West Germany launched large-scale preparations for its own production of nuclear weapons.

In July 1958 Strauss assured the readers of a Swiss newspaper that security was guaranteed since the nuclear weapons were "under American lock and key". And a few months prior to that (April 1958), in an interview with the British M. P. Crossman, he frankly stated that "as for my country we are, of course, forbidden to make nuclear weapons" but... "this situation will not last forever".* Apparently Strauss did not particularly care that his statement to Crossman about the production of nuclear weapons in the Federal Republic of Germany was at variance with the article in which he said that these weapons were "under American lock and key".

In his book *The Limits of Miracle* published in the mid-

* *Daily Mirror*, April 2, 1958, p. 8.

dle of 1959 Schlamm, this "Austrian by birth and American by decision",* as he calls himself, was forced to admit that the socialist countries would never attack anybody because they believe that by peaceful competition "they could more effectively realise the communist conception of brotherhood than with the aid of armoured divisions and intercontinental rockets".** Then, what is the matter? Why must the West arm itself and, particularly, why arm the Federal Republic of Germany? Schlamm frankly blurts out what the West German revanchists have on their minds: he is calling for a "preventive war" against the socialist camp because the latter cannot be defeated in peaceful competition. Reviling the pacifists, he mocks at them and ironically states: "It was moral and reasonable to suppress Nazism with the aid of phosphorous bombs by destroying whole cities, but it would be immoral and unreasonable to suppress Communism with the aid of nuclear weapons."*** That is why Schlamm adjures the Western political leaders to do away with "the greatest sin—irresponsibility", which, according to Schlamm, consists in the striving to avoid war. This war-monger is calling for an immediate nuclear war against the socialist countries and warns "Germany, America and the West that for this they have at their disposal only a few short years for the final decision". He sharply criticises President Eisenhower for his pacifism and his statements to the effect that war is unthinkable. He asserts that the President thereby presumably "destroyed the American Army". That is the more reason, according to Schlamm, that the United States should help transform Germany as soon as possible into an "invincible shock force against the East".**** In September 1959 the Federal Republic of Germany was visited by

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* William Schlamm, *Die Grenzen des Wunders. Ein Bericht über Deutschland*, Zürich, 1959, S. 5.

** *Ibid.*, S. 186.

*** *Ibid.*, S. 204.

**** *Ibid.*, S. 206, 219 und 243.

Wernher von Braun, former expert and rocket designer of the Third Reich. Today he is an American citizen and is working in the same field for the U.S. Armed Forces. Braun came to West Germany for the purpose of settling a number of questions connected with equipping the Bundeswehr with rockets. Braun's visit means that the Federal Republic of Germany will now have its own rockets because a centre for mass rocket production is being set up in the vicinity of Lake of Constance.

At the same time the Bundeswehr is being armed with American atomic and rocket weapons in all haste. According to the West German journal *Bildzeitung* of May 1958, it is intended, in keeping with the NATO plan, to form in the Bundeswehr 40 battalions of land troops and 28 anti-aircraft battalions equipped with rockets carrying atomic warheads, and to set up on the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany more than 100 launching pads for these rockets.

The transformation of the Federal Republic of Germany into the principal atomic base of the Atlantic Bloc was confirmed by the NATO Council Session in December 1958. At this Session Strauss stated: "... The arming of the Bundeswehr and its equipment with all existing types of atomic weapons will now be carried through in every way."

According to the 1959 report of the Defence Ministry of the Federal Republic of Germany, the Bundeswehr now has, in addition to the aforementioned rockets, Nike-Ajax and Nike-Hercules rockets. The latter, carrying an atomic warhead, are the more perfect type. Since 1960, production of the Nike-Ajax has therefore been discontinued. The atomic rocket Mace is an improved variant of the Matador rocket with which the Bundeswehr has long been equipped. In the beginning of 1960 West Germany began the purchase of 480 million marks' worth of such rockets. During the 1959 manoeuvres all types of rockets with which the Bundeswehr is armed were launched for training purposes. However, all this seems insufficient to the West German

militarists and, on arriving to the session of the NATO Council in December 1959, Strauss hastened to give an interview to the Hamburg newspaper *Die Welt*; in this interview he stated that the Federal Republic of Germany would demand from the NATO council still faster arming of the Bundeswehr with atomic weapons.

The aim of this policy is revealed in the article "Without Illusions", written by Wilhelm Elfes, a prominent West German figure. "Dr. Adenauer is speculating with almost blind obstinacy on superior military power which he firmly expects to obtain in the Western bloc in close collaboration with the powerful U.S.A."* To become an active striking force in NATO's European Army is the aim of the militarists and revanchists in the Federal Republic of Germany, which constitutes a danger to peace. The ruling circles in the Federal Republic of Germany are now striving for an unconditional removal of the restrictions to produce certain types of weapons, atomic, biological and chemical, which were imposed by the Paris Agreements and from which already today practically nothing has remained. As far back as April 1958 Strauss said to Hearst Junior: "We want a complete revision of all the restrictions placed upon us. General Norstad and his experts have unofficially been informed of the changes we want." Thus, the West German militarists demand recognition of their "right" to manufacture atomic and hydrogen bombs.

Today Krupp, Siemens, AEG, DEMAG, Flick and several other concerns are already openly engaged in preparations for this manufacture. Close to 30 West German concerns have formed a syndicate for the preparation and manufacture of atomic weapons. This syndicate is innocently designated as a "Physical Research Society". Rockets are being designed by the "German Working Society for Rocketry", the "Heinkel Co." and other concerns. A plant for manufacturing atomic munitions is planned to be built in

* Wilhelm Elfes, "Zuversichtlich—aber ohne Illusionen" *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, Düsseldorf, 11.12.1959, S. 1.

North Rhine-Westphalia. It stands to reason that military preparations on so large a scale are expensive. In April 1958 the West German Bundestag debated, on the request of the S.D.P.G. fraction, the current and planned military expenditures of the Federal Republic of Germany.

In answering the questions Minister Etzel was forced to admit that in the course of the next six years at least 52,000 million marks would have to be spent on the Bundeswehr, this sum not including the expenses connected with eliminating the aftermath of the Second World War. In 1959 alone 8,400 million marks was spent on the Bundeswehr, while the budget appropriations for 1960 amount to 10,000 million marks. Nor do these sums include the war orders which the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany grants to the industry and which in 1955-57 amounted to 15,200 million marks and from October 1, 1958 to October 1, 1959 ran into 4,500 million marks. All this taken into consideration, the total expenditures for war needs already now amount to an enormous sum ranging between 16,000 million and 18,000 million marks a year. In 1945, shortly before his death, Harry Hopkins, eminent American statesman of Roosevelt's time, visited utterly defeated Germany. At that time it seemed to many people that militarism and revanchism were not only forever wiped off the face of the German earth, but were also eradicated from the minds of the German people. But on July 4, 1945 Hopkins wrote to Winant: "The Germany I saw was a shambles, but I confess I am a little disquieted by suggestions I hear from some quarters that we do little or nothing to prevent the Germans from starting this business all over again. I have no confidence in them whatever but I have a good healthy respect for their ability to hit us again in another 25 years."* What would Hopkins say now if he could see the present-day West German state!

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* Robert E. Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, New York, 1948, p. 919.

Chapter Four

THEY FEAR THE LIGHT

LAUGHTER IN COURT

November 1945. World attention was focussed on the ancient South German city of Nuremberg. Here the Nazi movement had originated; here the International Military Tribunal was to pass sentence on the Nazi ringleaders.

From left to right in the dock stood Göring, Hess, Ribbentrop.... On the extreme right was Hjalmar Schacht, at one time Hitler's Minister of Economics and President of the Reichsbank.

Schacht pointedly refused to speak to Göring, that "murderer and thief". Kaltenbrunner, that "executioner with a lawyer's degree", and Ribbentrop, that "upstart and careerist", were also snubbed. "How dare they make me sit there with those criminals,"* Schacht told Gilbert, the U.S. prison psychiatrist.

Hjalmar Horace Greeley Schacht was not unduly perturbed during his trial. Not, of course, because he knew himself to be innocent. There were other things to reassure him. During the nine months of the trial he remembered much. His close connections with the banks of Morgan and Dillon. The year 1924, when he took an active part in drawing up the Dawes Plan, which brought his American friends profits running into hundreds of billions. His frequent trips to the United States, where he urged the New York Stock Exchange and Washington officials that the bringing of Hitler to power was the only way of guaranteeing "order in Europe" and a "crusade against the

* G. M. Gilbert, *Nuremberg Diary*, New York, 1947, p. 48.

U.S.S.R.", that there was "no government in the world more democratic than Hitler's Government", that the Nazi regime was "the best form of democracy". His constant efforts to get American loans for Germany.

Yes, he had always known that business people in New York could not remain indifferent to the question of who held the reins of power in Germany. Huge sums of American capital had been invested in German industry and it was no secret how Ford and General Motors through their affiliated branches in Germany had helped to build up the motorised units of the German Army, or how Morgan had assisted in the creation of Göring's Luftwaffe.

And what of those wartime meetings of 1942 and 1943 in Basle, where Schacht had offered the American bankers peace in the West and continuation of the war in the East? Yes, he could remember how sympathetically his proposal had been received and how everything had been going well until, as he said later, they "were stranded over the Stalingrad calamity". But even then he had a fresh proposal up his sleeve. German industry would become the joint property of the American and German monopolies, and Germany would be allowed to continue the war against the U.S.S.R., having concluded peace in the West. Yes, his American friends had approved that plan, and Allen Dulles, American intelligence chief in Europe, had made a bid to put Schacht in power.

But under the hammer blows of the Soviet Army the stage that had been set for Schacht's debut began to rock and finally collapsed in ruins.

Yes, Schacht could remember everything, but there was one point that puzzled him. Surely the Americans didn't want him to reproduce all this in "honest" evidence here in Nuremberg. Since when had these people in judges' robes been given access to the holy of holies, the right to burrow in the affairs of banks and financial concerns? Surely the Chief American Prosecutor Mr. Justice Jackson had not been sent to Nuremberg to reveal to the world the

connections between I. G. Farbenindustrie and American Standard Oil, to initiate the "common herd" into that great mystery in which war is born. Schacht decided to remind the American judges publicly of a certain guarantee he had received just before war broke out: "... The United States Chargé d'Affaires, Mr. Kirk, sent me his regards before leaving his Berlin post, adding that after the war I could be counted on as a man free from guilt."*

Certainly the way the "chargé d'affaires" of the German monopolies, Hjalmar Schacht, behaved at his trial expressed not only confidence that no one would dare convict him but also obvious contempt at the efforts of the apparently ill-informed American prosecutors to class him with Göring and Kaltenbrunner.

During one of the intermissions an American security officer noticed that defendant Speer, the former Reich Minister of Armaments and War Production, an architect by profession, was busy sketching.

When asked severely what he was sketching, Speer replied with a smile: "This plan, you mean? Schacht has commissioned me to design a villa he wants to build when the trial is over."

Schacht acknowledged the statement with a nod.

A few days later the court heard a typical exchange between Schacht and the Chief American Prosecutor Mr. Justice Jackson. Schacht had been trying to present himself as an opponent of Nazism and had referred to his resignation from the presidency of the Reichsbank. But Jackson reminded him that even after his resignation he had continued to receive an annual salary of 50,000 marks from Hitler.

"I hope that I shall still receive my pension; how else should I pay my expenses?" was Schacht's arrogant reply.

"Well, they may not be very heavy, Doctor," the American prosecutor countered sarcastically.

The record tells us that this exchange was greeted by

* *I.M.T.*, Vol. XXII, p. 389.

laughter in court. It does not, however, specify the precise cause of this laughter. To do this one must remember the circumstances of the trial. The public gallery at Nuremberg was occupied by a mixed crowd. Prominent lawyers and wealthy American tourists rubbed shoulders with representatives of the progressive newspapers and influential journalists from the Hearst and McCormick press. It was not an easy matter, therefore, to decide what exactly people were laughing at—Schacht's arrogant self-assurance or the innocent optimism of the prosecutor.

It soon became quite obvious, however, that Schacht's confidence in his own future was justified.

In spite of the opposition of the Soviet delegation, Schacht was acquitted by the votes of the Western judges. Their aim was not only to save Schacht. The charges against him of helping the Nazis to power and financing the programme of rearmament that had enabled them to execute their aggressive plans applied equally to the German monopolies, which in turn were closely connected with the American monopolies. To have passed sentence on Schacht would have set a dangerous precedent for the German (and not only the German) magnates of industry and banking.

Schacht's conduct after his acquittal showed his protectors that their efforts on his behalf and that of the monopolies had not been wasted. Only a few minutes after the verdict had been announced, Schacht told the press he had drawn up a "new plan for the economic regeneration of Germany". This "new" plan was, in fact, Schacht's old plan of the 1943 period.

Schacht was quick to appreciate the value of the Marshall Plan: "The plan is an 'excellent' start for the building of Europe's economy.... The Western world is moving in an entirely right direction. For this I give the greatest credit to American politics."* Schacht knew very well that the Marshall Plan would help to build up Bonn's military

* *New Times*, 1948, No. 24, pp. 22-23.

economy, that it would not be long before American and German concerns would again begin to co-operate in that most profitable of all enterprises—arms production.

In 1946, while Schacht was still awaiting trial, Captain Gilbert, the prison psychiatrist, talked to him in his cell.

Gilbert recalled afterwards in his *Nuremberg Diary* that Schacht burst out laughing when he heard that the German industrialists would be charged with arming Germany. "If you want to indict industrialists who helped to rearm Germany," he said, "you will have to indict your own, too. The Opel Werke, for instance, who did nothing but war production, were owned by your General Motors."*

"Laughter in court!" Schacht very soon showed the American prosecutor what that laughter meant.

Only a few years were to pass before the German industrialists, the very men who had nourished Hitler and his party, openly began to rebuild their power in Western Germany.

Just as in Hitler's time, Schacht became the apologist for German monopoly capital and its chief exponent. It did not take him long to find out that in the new situation German monopoly capital must turn its attention towards the countries of the colonial world. This certainly did not mean a relaxation of effort in regard to other, "civilised" markets. But Schacht had always been tempted by the East.

In the summer of 1951, as emissary of the Ruhr monopolies, he set out for the Near and Middle East to explore the chances of a break-through by German monopoly capital in India, Indonesia, Iraq and Egypt. The following year he was in Iran. Nazi war criminal though he was, Schacht now assumed that with the political situation in Bonn shaping as it was the time had come for him to set up in business himself. In 1952, the banking firm of Schacht and Co. opened in Düsseldorf. Soon Schacht was flourishing

* G. M. Gilbert, *Nuremberg Diary*, New York, 1947, p. 430.

both as adviser to the resurgent West German monopolies and as a businessman on his own behalf. In recent years he has concluded a big deal for the construction of an oil pipeline between Genoa and Munich with Enrico Mattei, a powerful Italian financier.

Schacht is naturally not a member of the West German economic *élite*. He is not in the same category, for instance, as the Krupps and the Flicks, but his career in the Western Germany of today is highly symbolical. One of the chief Nazi war criminals, a man who was directly instrumental in putting Hitler in the saddle, the "economic wizard" who provided in record time the money the Nazis needed to finance their programme of aggression, he has not only escaped all responsibility but is actually playing an important role in the new aggressive plans of German imperialism in the Federal German Republic.

THE DECARTELISATION FARCE AND ITS AFTERMATH

When the Second World War ended, the part played by the German monopolies in preparing and unleashing it and their implication in its crimes were so obvious, and public indignation so strong, that the Western governments were forced willy-nilly to make concessions to the Soviet Union.

The upshot was the famous Potsdam Declaration: "At the earliest practicable date the German economy shall be decentralised for the purpose of eliminating the present excessive concentration of economic power as exemplified in particular by cartels, syndicates, trusts and other monopolistic arrangements."

Actually, this was carried out consistently only on the territory of the German Democratic Republic. A directly opposite process took place in the Federal Republic of Germany. After the Second World War, owing to the crushing defeat of the Third Reich, Western Germany lost its place among the great industrial powers, but in the last fifteen years the situation has radically changed.

The Federal Republic's industrial output today is double that of France and has outstripped Britain's.

Who are the men in Western Germany behind this economic growth? Who controls the productive forces that have made it possible?

A blunt answer to this question has been given by the prominent West German economist and Social-Democrat Kurt Pritzkoleit in his voluminous work *Who Owns Germany?* (in Bonn, even Social-Democrats equate the Federal Republic with the whole of Germany): "The operation of economic forces has brought us to a situation in which more economic power than ever before has been concentrated in the hands of a small number of people. The farce of decartelisation is almost forgotten. The power of the concerns has grown to unprecedented dimensions. Germany belongs to them—to the old, rich families and to a few *nouveaux riches*.... Germany belongs to them to a degree that should attract attention and give rise to alarm."*

The chapter headings tell us who the author has in mind when speaking of the "old, rich families", whom the farce of Anglo-American "decartelisation", instead of prison cells and confiscation of the immense fortunes criminally acquired through close co-operation with the Hitler clique, has once again carried to the heights of economic and political power—"Krupp Still the Richest of All", "Chemistry Regains Power" [the "chemistry" of I. G. Farben—*the authors*], "The Flick Concern Patched Up Again", "The Insurance Companies More Powerful than Ever Before".

The words of the Potsdam Declaration about "eliminating the present excessive concentration of economic power", which were never taken seriously by the governments of the Western Powers, have long since been forgotten.

Here are a few striking examples. In 1939, 1,636 com-

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* K. Pritzkoleit, *Wem gehört Deutschland, Eine Chronik von Besitz und Macht*, Wien, 1958, S. 675-76.

panies controlled about 65 per cent of the total share capital; in 1958, they controlled more than 80 per cent. At present, eight concerns account for more than half the coal output and 90 per cent of the production of raw steel; three own 95 per cent of the potassium output; 80 per cent of the production of synthetic fibres is provided by two concerns; the I.G. Farben group controls 70 per cent of West Germany's large-scale chemical industry.

Concentration of finance capital is amazingly high. More than half the banking capital belongs to three large banks; the remaining 45 per cent is shared by 60 banking firms.

The composition of the directing boards of banks and industrial concerns has scarcely changed. The "leaders of the defence economy" and war criminals like Krupp, Flick, Siemens, Reusch, Zangen, Pferdmenges, Abs and others once again hold sway in the F.R.G.

Life, of course, does not stand still. Take Wilhelm Zangen, for example. In the Third Reich he was head of the Mannesmann concern that supplied the Wehrmacht with the powerful Tiger and Panther tanks and contributed to Nazi economic expansion by setting up enterprises in a number of other countries. During the war it "absorbed" a number of factories in the occupied territories of the Soviet Union and other countries of Eastern Europe.

In 1945, Zangen's name naturally appeared on the list of war criminals but he was saved by his old business partner, Patterson, who was then the United States Secretary for War. Now Zangen is in charge of the same firm, but whereas before the war Mannesmann's was the smallest of the Ruhr's "Big Six", it now holds one of the leading positions. Before "decartelisation" the firm had an output of 2.9 million tons of coal. Now its output is six million tons.

Economic expansion is still Zangen's favourite occupation but it now has a new direction. Before the war his activity was confined to Europe, now he "assists the economic growth" of the underdeveloped countries. Zangen's business partner Werhahn is the son-in-law of Konrad

Adenauer. Such are the "changes" that life has brought the monopolists of the Federal Republic.

But the German monopolists have not only risen to the heights of power and economic supremacy, they are once again allied with their old colleagues in the United States in the same sinister undertakings. They are preparing a third world war. Once again hundreds of millions of dollars are pouring into their coffers for that purpose. At the present time American investments in the F.R.G. are larger than they were in Hitler Germany on the eve of the Second World War.

In addition to their old connections the monopolies have acquired new ones. New branches of industry are springing up in Western Germany—electronics, atomic energy, etc., all of them connected with American capital.

The main stress in all these agreements between American and German cartels is on arms manufacture in the Federal Republic, including manufacture of nuclear and missile weapons. In 1959, the *New York Times* commented drily that West Germany was destined to become a big producer of arms. It had already embarked on the building of a powerful arms industry.

In fact, 60 per cent of all the war orders made by the Federal Republic's Ministry of Defence were in 1959 filled by West German firms.

American F-104 multi-purpose fighters are now being manufactured on an American licence by the Heinkel-Messerschmitt firm. A licence from the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation of California, which built the ill-famed Lockheed U-2 plane, will enable Starfighter aircraft to be manufactured in the Federal Republic. The A. G. Weser firm, which is controlled by Alfred Krupp, has sold 43 per cent of its shares to the American United Aircraft Corporation.

In the field of electronics the Radio Corporation of America is making military instruments in co-operation with Telefunken and Siemens & Halske of West Germany. Many more such examples could be cited.

The directors of the monopolies consider that the time has now come to step up arms manufacture on a much bigger scale. Besides the desire for the superprofits to be made from the production of weapons, particularly weapons of mass destruction, there is another factor. In recent years, West German industry has been finding it more and more difficult to sell its goods on the markets of the other capitalist countries. The growth of industrial production in the Federal Republic in 1958 was only three per cent, as against 15 per cent in 1955.

Naturally enough, the West German Government, which acts on the instructions of the German monopolies and endeavours to guarantee these concerns maximum profits, is a bitter enemy of any proposals that might lead to disarmament.

Confirmation of this fact is to be found in *Die Welt* of April 17, 1958, which published a letter from the President of the Federal Union of German Industry Berg to West Germany's Minister of Defence Strauss. "German industry," it said, "must make use of all the possible forms of production in the F.R.G. for arms manufacture." The same Berg has cynically stated: "Armaments are the best form of market reserve."

They are indeed. Calculations made in Western Germany show that the arming of the Bundeswehr with nuclear weapons and missiles conforming to present-day standards of technical development would cost the enormous sum of 110 thousand million marks. Scope indeed for profit-making! And that is without counting the cost of the Bundeswehr's conventional armaments. It is a fact that to equip the Bundeswehr with weapons of mass destruction will cost more than the arming of the whole Wehrmacht in Hitler's day.

Again the monopolies are lining their pockets with superprofits, but these profits are far greater than before the war. To hide these unprecedented incomes, only a fraction of them is allowed to appear on the balance sheets as prof-

its; the rest is recorded discreetly as investments and "reserves". In the past five years more than 170 thousand million marks have been invested in the building of new plants and the expansion and modernisation of old ones. It is scarcely surprising that under such conditions the Krupp concern's capital has now reached the sum of six thousand million marks.

The peoples of the world are naturally alarmed and indignant over these facts. It is also natural that imperialist propaganda should in the circumstances do everything in its power to hide the truth about the monopolies, particularly those of West Germany, and disguise their true role and significance in the unleashing of world wars.

"NO VOICE OR CONTROL IN THE CONDUCT OF THE WAR"

Even before the international trial of the chief German war criminals was over, preparations were under way in Nuremberg for the trial of the big German industrialists who had been implicated in aggression and war crimes. In the courtroom where Göring and Ribbentrop had been condemned there now sat one of the real masters of Germany —Alfred Krupp—and his directors.

The gravest charge against Krupp was the plot against peace, his participation in the drawing up and execution of Hitler's programme of aggression. For this Ribbentrop and Keitel, Göring and Rosenberg had paid with their lives.

...When the American court pronounced sentence on Krupp, the face of the "führer of the German war industry" wore an ironic smile. He had been acquitted of the gravest charges—conspiring against peace and participating in aggression. In its verdict on the directors of I. G. Farbenindustrie, the Tribunal stated: "If we lower the standard of participation to include them, it is difficult to find a logical place to draw the line between the guilty and the innocent among the great mass of the German people." In the case of Krupp, the American judges went even further.

Criminal liability for planning or waging aggressive war, they asserted, must be restricted to "leaders and policy-makers" and could not be extended to industrialists, who were "private citizens" and had "no voice or control in the conduct of the war or its initiation". Of course, Krupp had good reason to be sarcastic!

The sentences passed by the American tribunals set the stage for the reactionary falsification of the history of the Second World War. In the spate of books and articles that have since appeared in the West, writers and journalists set themselves the difficult, in fact impossible, task of proving that Germany's imperialist monopolies had had nothing in common with fascism, and that they had known nothing of Hitler's aggressive plans and the abominable crimes committed by the Nazis in the occupied countries. An ulterior motive, of course, was to save not only the German but also the American monopolies that had been closely connected with them.

If we are to believe these ideologists of imperialism, it was not the Krupps and the Thyssens who were guilty of unleashing war but—the German people! The German people, the reactionary West German historian Walter Görlitz tells us, bears the responsibility for the meteoric rise of the "great drummer boy" Hitler, who was "the mouthpiece of all unformed desires and urges". A similar piece of "historical" research has been done by the American businessman Lewis Brown, Chairman of Johns Manville & Co., who states that Hitler relied not on the backing of the monopolies and Junkers but on the German people, and that when he gained power he put the monopolies aside just as one puts aside a ladder that is no longer needed.

According to what Schacht says in his book *The Settlement with Hitler* the chief force opposing Hitler were the German monopolies. In his *Political Charges Against the Leaders of German Industry* Kurt Hesse writes: "The view that the whole of German industry helped Hitler to power rests on a legend."

Certain venerable Prussian historians are indignant at the very idea that anyone should want to smirch the honest reputation of the Ruhr industrialists, that someone at Nuremberg should have invented the fantastic tale that these industrialists actually aided Hitler and his party in their rise to power. The Prussian historians are helped by their American colleagues. Louis Lochner is outraged at the accusations made against the German monopolies and considers their leaders "democratic" and the fiercest opponents of Hitler. "... No idea was further from their minds than that of making Hitler a dictator," he assures us.

The evidence to the contrary, which was presented at the Nuremberg Trial, was so striking and convincing, however, that the Chief American Prosecutor Mr. Justice Jackson was compelled to state: "... The great industrialists of Germany were guilty of the crimes charged in this Indictment quite as much as its politicians, diplomats, and soldiers."*

But these words have long since been forgotten. Every reactionary historian knows that certain things can be said when the wounds of war are fresh, but that it is quite a different matter to go against the interests of the powers that be, who find their well deserved reputation for gangsterism not entirely necessary.

That is why these bourgeois historians are now doing all they can to justify those who bear the greatest responsibility for letting loose monstrous aggressive wars.

The falsifiers of history fully realise the importance of their underhand trickery. They are out to save the face of the German monopolies, which brought Hitler to power in the thirties and are today backing the anti-popular and aggressive Adenauer regime in Western Germany.

What is more, it is not only a matter of the monopolies themselves but of those who control them. To this day the biggest industrial concerns and banks are all directed by

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* *I.M.T.*, Vol. I, p. 137.

the very same people who put Hitler in power in the thirties and associated themselves with him in carrying out the most abominable crimes against humanity.

THE "HOLY TRINITY" PUTS HITLER IN POWER

Legends are now being created at a great rate about the non-implication of the monopolies in the Nazi seizure of power and even about the industrial magnates' "opposition" to Hitler's programme.

The historical facts present a very different picture.

The year 1932 was not only the year before Hitler's advent to power but also the year when the industrial crisis reached its peak and began to undermine the political domination of the monopolies in Germany.

Under these conditions the big German bourgeoisie and its militarist *Landsknechts* openly embarked on a policy of preparing a third world war for the redivision of the world as a remedy for their difficulties. International reaction responded favourably to these plans of its German colleagues, since it was anxious to channel German aggression eastwards in the hope that this might bring about the realisation of its old dream of crushing the Soviet Union, which was at that time the only socialist country in the world. The "golden rain" of the American loans, which had begun long before the crisis, in 1924-25, was destined to facilitate the fulfilment of the German monopolists' aggressive aspirations. International reaction planned to kill two birds with one German stone by crushing the U.S.S.R. and in the course of the war crippling its most dangerous rival, Germany herself. In their blind hatred of the Land of Socialism the monopolists of the United States, Britain and France completely ignored the idea that such a policy might involve treachery to their own countries if Hitler changed the course of aggression they had planned for him.

Since the German monopolists were planning a fresh world war the task of ensuring themselves safety in the rear was for them Problem No. 1. Parliamentary institutions, bourgeois democracy, and party rivalry were considered incompatible with these "higher" aims of policy, particularly when an unprecedented economic crisis had strained all contradictions to breaking-point. No wonder then that in monopoly circles fascism became the most fashionable political merchandise on the market.

A series of meetings was held between Hitler and the leaders of the biggest monopolies. Hjalmar Schacht played the part of go-between for German and international reaction.

A large gathering of reactionaries was held at the health resort of Harzburg on October 11, 1931. Hugenberg, Schacht, Ernst Poensgen, Blohm and other representatives of monopoly capital, the leaders of the big agricultural trusts, the leaders of the Stahlhelm and the Pan-German Union, generals including the creator of the Reichswehr von Seeckt, and even the princely remnants of the Hohenzollern dynasty, assembled to meet Hitler, the future dictator of the Third Reich.

This assemblage of all the forces of social and political reaction heralded its general offensive, the result of which fifteen months later was the setting up in Germany of a bloody fascist dictatorship. After the Harzburg gathering, the monopolies flung open their coffers to finance the Nazi movement. Before this, it is true, the fascist beast had taken sustenance from the same sources, but that had been done under cover and on a much smaller scale. Hitler did not fail to repay the debt. With the "burden of state responsibility" on his shoulders the time had come to throw overboard the social demagogy of the twenties, when the Nazi Party programme had actually demanded the nationalisation of all concerns, syndicates and trusts.

Rank-and-file members of the Nazi Party, who had believed this political double-talk, were surprised to read in

the seventh edition of the Party programme in 1932: "National Socialism in no way considers that private ownership of even the largest industrial enterprises (we have in mind those of Krupp, Mannesmann, Thyssen and others) contradicts the interests of the whole of society."* In fact, the owners of these and similar firms were the true masters of the Nazi Party.

Soon afterwards, on January 27, 1932, Thyssen introduced Hitler to a select audience at a closed conference of industrialists in Düsseldorf. The Führer informed the gathering of his programme. Democracy was declared to be "the rule of stupidity and the principle of destruction". It would be "absurd to build the economic life on the authority of an individual, and at the same time reject that authority in politics and replace it by democracy". Hitler's statement that they "have taken a firm decision to eradicate entirely Marxism in Germany" was greeted, so the minutes of the meeting tell us, by tempestuous applause. Such a programme was fully in accord with the interests of the monopolies, which have always regarded democracy as a threat to freedom of exploitation of the workers. If one adds that Hitler proclaimed a broad programme for the conquering and exploitation of other peoples and the annihilation of Bolshevism, there is nothing surprising in the fact that the leaders of the monopolies should have enthusiastically acclaimed Hitler's speech. Speaker and audience understood each other completely. No wonder Dietrich, the Reich Minister for the Press, wrote exultantly of that day in his book *With Hitler at Power:* "... January 27, 1932 will always remain a memorable day in the history of the Nazi Party.... Every seat was occupied by men representing the cream of the West German economy ... men who are said to carry cash-books in their breast instead of hearts. The impression Hitler made on this excep-

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* Albert Norden, *Lehren deutscher Geschichte*, Berlin, 1947, S. 90-91.

tionally sober-minded audience was astonishing. The applause was explosive."*

1932 was a year of great political battles in Germany. At the August elections the Nazis collected 37 per cent of the votes cast. This was the greatest success they ever achieved in any election struggle. In the months that followed Hitler's Party gravely compromised itself by holding undercover talks with Chancellor von Papen and by its connections with the big monopolies, which were exposed by the Left-wing parties. The fog of social demagogy put out by fascism began to disperse and millions of hoodwinked voters gradually became suspicious. At the election of November 6, 1932 the Nazis lost two million votes; six million votes were cast for the Communists. This was followed by a series of heavy defeats in local elections. These losses immediately caused a serious crisis and mass exodus from the Nazi Party, which had been formed from various strata of the population. Hitler's Party was heading for disaster. There is convincing evidence of this fact to be found in Goebbels' diary *From Kaiserhof to the Reich Chancellery*. Here is a characteristic entry of that period: "A grave depression reigns in the organisation.... The Party inspectors have been assembled by the Führer. They are all in very low spirits.... The Führer paces his hotel room for hours on end. Then he will stand still and say: 'If the Party collapses, I will in three minutes put an end to everything with a pistol.' "**

At this crucial moment for the Nazis, the monopolies once again came to the rescue. On November 19, 1932 the most powerful industrialists and bankers, including Krupp, Schroeder and Schacht, sent a letter to President Hindenburg, demanding that he appoint Hitler Reich Chancellor. This document, which exposes the true role of the monopo-

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* Otto Dietrich, *Mit Hitler in die Macht*, München, 1934, S. 46-47.

** J. Goebbels, *Vom Kaiserhof zur Reichskanzlei*, München, 1934, S. 218-20.

lies in Hitler's seizure of power, figured in the Nuremberg Trial.

Not content with this, however, the monopolists sent their representative Schacht to von Papen, who was then Reich Chancellor. This is what von Papen said at Nuremberg about that meeting: "Schacht ... said: '... Give him your position. Give it to Hitler. He is the only man who can save Germany.' "* How the monopolists with Hitler's help "saved" Germany, is now only too well known.

The beginning of 1933 saw a fresh meeting between the monopolists and their puppet. On January 4, in Cologne, in the house of Baron von Schroeder, the banker who in cooperation with Schacht and von Papen financed the mighty steel combine of Vereinigte Stahlwerke, there was a meeting with Hitler, who was promised financial aid in the coming election campaign. In February 1933, on the eve of this campaign, which laid the foundation of the Third Reich, representatives of all branches of industry assembled in Göring's house. Schacht describes the scene after Hitler had made his speech. "Krupp was there—the old gentleman Gustav. He arose from his seat and thanked Hitler and was very enthusiastic about him at the time."** Göring then called on those present not to grudge the expense: "The sacrifices which are required would be so much easier for industry to bear if it knew that the election of 5 March would surely be the last for the next ten years, probably even for the next hundred years."*** The abolition of democracy for the next hundred years was a tempting prospect that no money-bag could resist—cheque-books opened and fountain-pens scratched. Three million marks for Hitler's election campaign were collected on the spot. Financial assistance to the Nazi Party from the monopolies continued even after the fascist putsch. The Krupp firm only contributed to the so-called "Hitler fund" nearly five million marks.

* *I.M.T.*, Vol. XII, p. 568.
** *Ibid.*, p. 571.
*** *Ibid.*

These historical facts, which make nonsense of the myth that the monopolies were unimplicated in Hitler's seizure of power, gave the Chief American Prosecutor at Nuremberg Mr. Jackson every reason for stating: "The Nazi Party did not succeed in obtaining control of Germany until it obtained support of the industrial interests."*

When describing the role of the monopolies in Hitler's rise to power it it impossible not to mention one extremely significant fact. The representatives of United States big business rendered the Nazis prolonged and generous financial assistance. An active role in this shameful business was played by the future ideologist and standard-bearer of the cold war and the "positions of strength" policy, the late U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. John Dulles and his brother Allen, director of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, were the proprietors of the influential legal firm of Sullivan & Cromwell, which catered for the largest industrial corporations and firms of America. John Foster Dulles did not hide his sympathies for the Nazis and was one of the first to offer them generous financial aid. According to a famous statement made in October 1944 by Senator Claude Pepper of Florida, John Foster Dulles was one of those who helped Hitler to power "since it was through Dulles' firm and the Schroeder banking corporation that Hitler got the money he needed to start his career as an international bandit".**

We also know that American help for the Nazis constantly increased. In 1929, Hitler received ten million dollars from his American patrons through the Amsterdam banking house of Mendelssohn & Co.; in 1932, he got 15 million dollars through the same bank and the Rotterdam banking consortium with the commercial bank of Rome acting as intermediary.

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* *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 136.

** Hershel D. Meyer, *Must We Perish? The Logic of 20th Century Barbarism*, New York, 1949, p. 19.

The Nazis used the funds, supplied by the German and American monopolies, to trick the German people and poison their minds with the venom of Nazism. Literally thousands of meetings were held and pamphlets and booklets were printed in editions running into millions.

Geoffrey Knox, chairman of the International Commission on the Saar, stated only part of the truth when he announced: "The Nazi Party, which, until it was taken up by the Prussian warlords, was no more than a sorry gang of pimps and corner-boys, counts for nothing."* The truth was that this "gang of pimps and corner-boys" was discovered and placed at the helm of what was at the time one of the biggest and most powerful countries in Europe by the joint efforts of that "Holy Trinity"—international reaction, the German monopolies, and the German generals.

Now the time had come for the monopolists to reap the reward of their labours.

Hitler's Government began to repay those who had put it in power. The opposition was ruthlessly destroyed. The Communist Party was banned. The trade unions were broken up, their property confiscated and the so-called "German Workers' Front" was set up in their place under the leadership of one of the Führer's closest associates Robert Ley. The law on the "regulation of national labour" not only deprived all workers and employees of trade-union protection, it also prohibited them from moving about the country in search of work. These legal measures were a gift from the gods for the industrialists; at last they were rid of the necessity of considering the demands of the workers, who were now chained to one place of work. The "Führer" principle was introduced into industry, and the newly-created Reich economic groups were placed under the command of the leading German millionaires, who managed industry by dictatorial methods. The decree of

* G. Knox, *The Last Peace and the Next*, London, 1942, p. 24.

July 15, 1933 on cartels introduced what was, in effect, compulsory cartelisation, and subjected those businessmen who dared resist the policy of monopoly to ruthless economic boycott. A number of measures led, as they were intended to lead, to the strangling of the petty bourgeoisie. The Nazis annulled the debts incurred by banks and firms for assistance received by the monopolies during the crisis period. This was another generous gift to big capital.

All these measures combined with the flood of war orders in preparation for World War II boosted the profits of the German monopolies. But truly fabulous profits flowed into the coffers of the German plutocrats after the outbreak of war. The Ford factories in Cologne, for example, recorded in 1940 that their net profits had increased by 41 per cent. Yes, it was not for nothing that old Henry Ford had sung the praises of Hitler long before his advent to power and it was not for nothing that the Number 1 Nazi afterwards honoured this powerful American capitalist with the highest German Order.

The total profits of the German monopolies in the first two years of the war can be illustrated by the following figures. Whereas in August 1939 all stock on the Berlin stock exchange amounted to 10,000 million marks, two years later it reached the sum of 17,000 million marks. But all these "internal" war profits were nothing as compared with the profits that the monopolists reaped beyond the frontiers of Germany. In the occupied countries the concerns and big banks took over the property of the subject peoples with amazing speed and efficiency. The economic blitzkrieg matched its military predecessor.

MONOPOLY DEALINGS AND NATIONAL TREACHERY

The close ties between the American and German monopolies, a "business brotherhood" in a unique form, were maintained even during the Second World War. The fact that these ties developed into direct national betrayal con-

stituted for the sharks of the business world "a fine point of law", a subject to be considered by innocent simpletons but not by sober businessmen, who lived by the maxim: "Profit is profit." Many of these connections have remained a secret of the monopolies, but many have come to light thanks to the efforts of progressive people in various countries.

The bosses of the American war industry did everything possible to further Hitler's aggression. Dozens of factories of vital importance situated in Germany were owned by American capital and worked intensively to arm the Third Reich. Morgan financed the production of the German Focke-Wulf aircraft.

When the German tank divisions in the Ardennes began their last big push in the West in January 1945, how many of the ordinary American G.I.s who faced up to them suspected that they and their fellow-soldiers were being killed by tanks built by an American firm? Little did they know that the Opel factories, which provided the bulk of the equipment for the motorised units of the Wehrmacht, belonged, in effect, to the great American automobile manufacturers General Motors. Besides tanks, Opel produced important components and units for the German Messerschmitts, Junkers, and Focke-Wulfs. Even after Hitler had declared war on the United States the American magnates continued to direct the Opel firm. This was done through the Danish representative of General Motors in Copenhagen, a certain Albin G. Madsen, who with the consent of the Nazi authorities was given a seat on the Opel advisory board and saw to it that the German branch of the American company worked at full capacity for Hitler's war machine.

During the Second World War the American monopolies, making use of the so-called neutral Powers, Turkey, Switzerland, Spain, Portugal, and Sweden, supplied their German colleagues with vital strategic materials—aluminium, magnesium, special grades of steel, and so on. In his

well documented book *A Treason's Peace* the American engineer Ambruster states that 239 of the biggest American trusts rendered assistance to Hitler Germany in one form or another during the Second World War through their dealings with I. G. Farbenindustrie.

When the Allied Forces captured the German naval base at Bremerhaven, unfinished submarines fitted out with extremely important and valuable instruments marked "Made in U.S.A." were found on the slipways. On closer inspection it was discovered that the date of manufacture of this apparatus was 1943, the fourth year of the war.

For a mechanised war like the Second World War, oil was a basic and absolutely essential product. The only source of supply in German hands was Rumania.

At Nuremberg Keitel admitted: "... the source of the vitality of our armed forces were the oilfields of Rumania.... Without Rumanian oil we should not have lasted a week." But did this argument carry any weight with American businessmen? The American oil companies in Rumania pursued their "fruitful" activities. While the nations shed their blood, oil flowed into the German storage tanks and profit into the coffers of the monopolies. In 1943, two American oil companies—the Romana-Americana and Astra-Romana—earned huge profits from oil deliveries to Germany amounting to 1,572 million lei.

But one of the most impressive instances of the "brotherhood of business" were the so-called agreements on the limitation of the production of certain raw materials or manufactured goods which the American and German monopolies concluded to keep prices at a desirable level and achieve maximum profits. These agreements continued to operate even during the war. Some of their secrets were discovered during the war by American Senate Committees, others came to light after the war through the investigations of the Decartelisation Department of the American Military Administration of Germany.

We shall cite only three examples of these numerous

agreements. The struggle was at its height and American Government supply men were in despair over the critical shortage of perspex needed for bombers that were being built by Dupont. Only after the war was the reason for the Dupont administration's "inefficiency" discovered: Dupont's was bound by an agreement with the German monopolies I. G. Farben and Rohm & Haase strictly limiting the manufacture of perspex.

The British Air Ministry never succeeded in persuading the British firm Zenith to sell patents that would have made it possible to expand the output of carburettors for aircraft engines, which in its turn held back aircraft production. The reason was that Zenith's had an agreement with the German firm of Siemens & Halske. Apparently it was of no concern to the directors of Zenith's that the British pilots who in 1940 fought the Battle of Britain were constantly outnumbered by the German Air Force and had to make supreme efforts and sacrifices. The firm had other worries, which it wrote about quite frankly only a year after Dunkirk to the third partner in the agreement, the American Bendix Corporation: "We are anxious that postwar business should not be complicated by departing from the conditions of the contract [with the German monopoly —*the authors*] in the meantime and under the excuse of war conditions. . . ."*

The American Standard Oil Company and I. G. Farbenindustrie, who were making synthetic petrol, had concluded a cartel agreement. In October 1939 at a meeting in the Netherlands it was decided that this agreement should remain in force all through the war "irrespective of whether the United States enters it or not". The essence of the agreement was that both companies were interested in prolonging the war for as long as possible, because every day it lasted entailed the running of hundreds of thousands of engines and demanded huge quantities of petrol,

* James Stuart Martin, *All Honourable Men*, Boston, 1950, p. 11.

the sale of which offered both partners unprecedented profits.

In accordance with the agreement, Standard Oil handed over to I. G. Farben its patents on the manufacture of synthetic petrol (without which Hitler could not have continued the war!) and undertook not to produce it in the United States. In return, the American monopoly received from its German partner a certain sum for every ton of synthetic petrol manufactured in Germany and used on the battlefields in the engines of the tanks, motor vehicles and aircraft of the Wehrmacht. I. G. Farbenindustrie did not come off badly either, since it received 20 per cent of Standard Oil's profits on the sale of pure aviation spirit to the Allied Armies.

Who can doubt that this was the secret reason why the American Air Force's mass bombing of Germany did not touch the I. G. Farben factories, and many other factories, too? The "geography of bombing" had its secrets and they could be discovered only by gaining access to the most closely guarded safes of the big monopolies.

It is impossible to deny that such agreements between the monopolies caused more harm to the national security of the belligerent countries and caused greater suffering to the working people than any enemy sabotage.

Thousands of sailors of the American Merchant Marine patriotically risked their lives at sea delivering military supplies to the battlefields and the Allied countries. They were confident that American security organs were standing guard over the secrets of their sailing, cargo and course. In their innocence they were unaware of the activities of the insurance companies. It turns out that the biggest insurance societies in the United States shared the risk of sinkings with other insurance companies and particularly the so-called "Zürich Group" in Switzerland, which in its turn had an agreement with the Munich group in Germany. As any insurance clerk will tell you, every voyage has to have its insurance papers made out before the ship leaves

port. Therefore, by the time a ship sailed from America for Europe, German intelligence through its access to these insurance documents knew all the details about the voyage.

It was only in the summer of 1945 that the Decartelisation Department of the American Military Administration in Germany discovered in the records of German Intelligence and the Munich Mutual Insurance Society documentary evidence that during the war the Germans received photographs, blue prints and detailed specifications of new industrial plants in the United States through the same channels. All this information was drawn from the reports which the insurance inspectors attached to the policies. These documents were sent by a devious route from America through Switzerland to Munich. Thus the Americans, through their insurance companies, handed the German Intelligence Service priceless information on a plate.

It must be pointed out that all these revelations were made by American government bodies (the Economic Warfare Section, the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice and the Decartelisation Department, which had on their staff progressive-minded people who tried to get to the bottom of things). Only the American intelligence service turned a blind eye. This would appear to be all the more surprising since the American secret service in Europe was run all through the war by the present head of American intelligence, the "spy king", as he is sometimes called in the United States, Allen Dulles, who maintained a residence in Switzerland, where all these "insurance operations" were going on. But this fact will surprise only those who imagine Allen Dulles as an intelligence chief and nothing else. For those who are familiar with his "versatile activities", the failure of the American secret service to expose the criminal connections between the American and German monopolies during the Second World War is quite logical. During the war, Allen Dulles was not only head of the European Department of the American Intelligence Agency; in partnership with his brother John he was a pro-

prietor of the law firm Sullivan & Cromwell, and until 1944 a director of the Shroeder Bank in New York.

The financial and legal negotiation of the agreements between the American and German monopolies was done by the firm and its proprietors the Dulles brothers, and the financial payments involved in these agreements were frequently handled by the Shroeder Bank, where the indefatigable Allen Dulles had a seat on the board of directors. It is hardly surprising that Dulles the intelligence agent felt no desire to expose Dulles the businessman.

But the quintessence of cynicism and treachery on the part of these brother businessmen during the Second World War was achieved at the Bank for International Settlements in Basle. A certain Emil Puhl occupied two high positions: in the Third Reich he was Vice-President of the Reichsbank; he was also the representative of Hitler Germany at the Bank for International Settlements. In Oswieçim (Auschwitz), Buchenwald and other "death camps", the S.S. before destroying its victims deprived them of all their valuables, removing even gold teeth and plates from the mouths of both the living and the dead. Sacks of these gold dentures were kept in the vaults of the Reichsbank, as Puhl himself testified at Nuremberg. The gold was melted down into bars and sent by Puhl to the Bank for International Settlements, the president of which was McKittrick, who was also Vice-President of the Chase National Bank, one of the largest in America. In Basle, on the board of the Bank for International Settlements, the bankers of the United States, Britain, France and other countries which had suffered from Nazi aggression, sat together at one table with the war criminal Emil Puhl and in touching accord all through the war shared out the profits. The gold from the extermination camps contributed to the "common weal" and the rulers of the Nazi Reich regularly received the dividends that were due to them. Quite naturally, after the war, when Emil Puhl was arrested by the American authorities, he found protection in high places.

By order of the American bankers the United States High Commissioner in Germany McCloy, himself a big businessman, released this iniquitous war criminal from prison in 1949.

It is not for nothing that the "brotherhood of business" has become a synonym of national betrayal in the eyes of progressive people all over the world.

"NO, SIR!"

Doctor Otto Ambros, a member of the advisory boards of the Bergwerkgesellschaft Hibernia A. G. and several other companies, is one of the most successful businessmen in West Germany today. He is not one of the *nouveaux riches* and has given the best years of his life to his work for that most respectable of German business concerns I. G. Farbenindustrie. They were certainly not bad years, though he recalls some unpleasant, even shocking experiences.

. . . The war with all its bloodshed was over. Hitler Germany was defeated. The nations were demanding just retribution. There was talk of industrialists and particularly the chemical concern of I. G. Farben. Factories were to be dismantled. The firm's directors were to be brought to trial. The true instigators of Hitler's aggression must not escape justice.

Fifteen years after that nightmare Otto Ambros was once again sitting in his chair, reflecting with satisfaction that I. G. Farben factories were working at full capacity. True, in Eastern Germany there were some losses. But here, in the West, business could not be better. By 1956, eleven years after the end of the war, the firm's basic capital had risen above the 1940 level, its pre-war peak, by 417 per cent. And at the head of the companies created out of what used to be I. G. Farben, thank God, stood the same men who ran them under Hitler—Ter-Meer, Menne, Haberland, Winnacker, Wurster. And once again weapons were being forged for the German Army.

Take the Dynamit Company, for example, which now produces 70 per cent of the Federal Republic's explosives. As far back as 1948—what foresight!—I. G. Farben began producing fuel for rocket missiles. Governments may come and go, but the big business concerns go on for ever. Yes, Ambros was in a good mood, good enough even to remember some things that were not very pleasant.

... The year 1945. Ambros remembered the scene of his arrest. The interrogations. Then the trial. The resounding speeches of the prosecutors. To all appearances those Americans were sincerely convinced that the leaders of I. G. Farben ought to be punished, punished for helping Hitler to seize power, for financing him, for drawing huge profits from the predatory aggressive policy of Nazism.

At one point the prosecutor showed the court an extremely interesting document, which revealed that the firm had paid Hitler tens of thousands of marks on the eve of the Reichstag fire. There could be no doubt about the use for which these funds were designated.

When German troops marched into Sudetenland Hitler received a telegram: "Deeply impressed by the restoration of the German-Sudeten region to the Reich.... I. G. Farben and Co. places half a million reichsmarks at your disposal."

The seizure of Austria made it possible to swallow the Pulverfabrik Škoda Werke Wetzler chemical trust. In Czechoslovakia, I. G. Farben "picked up" Europe's fourth largest chemical company, the Aussiger Verein. In the wake of the Nazi Army the emissaries of I. G. Farben came to France and took over the Kuhlmann, St. Denis and St. Clair du Rhône companies.

In 1940, the Nazis were desperately in need of synthetic rubber for arms manufacture. New factories were needed but there was a shortage of labour. It was here that Himmler and his S.S. men, with whom the firm had long since developed cordial relations, proved extremely useful. Back in the thirties the industrialists had founded on their own

initiative a club known as the Circle of Himmler's Friends which annually presented Himmler with a million marks.

Sufficiently convincing evidence of the relations that existed between the German monopolists and Hitler's hangmen is provided by the letter that one of Germany's top bankers Schroeder sent Himmler on behalf of the club on the occasion of his appointment to the post of Minister of the Interior in 1943.

"My very honourable Reichsführer: With great joy I learn of your appointment as Reichsminister of the Interior and take the liberty to extend by heartiest congratulations to you on assuming your new post.

"A strong hand is now very necessary in the operation of this department; and it is universally welcomed, but especially by your friends, that it was you who were chosen for this by the Führer. Please be assured that we will always do everything in our power at all times to assist you in every possible way.

"I am pleased to inform you at this opportunity that your circle of friends has again placed at your disposal this year a sum slightly in excess of one million RM for 'your particular tasks'. An exact list showing the names of the contributors will be sent to you shortly.

"Again all my very best wishes—as well as those of my family. I remain yours in old loyalty and esteem. Heil Hitler! Yours truly."*

Himmler repaid the debt. The Nazis evolved a detailed programme for the annihilation of millions of innocent people. Dozens of concentration camps were built with suitable equipment, gas chambers, crematoriums, etc. Incidentally, these, too, were obligingly manufactured by German industrial firms, a case in point being J. A. Topf & Söhne (Ehrfurt).

But the monopoly directors had a brilliant idea. If these people were to be disposed of would it not be better to

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* *I.M.T.*, Vol. IV, pp. 15-16.

make them "use themselves up before death", as Goebbels had put it. Contracts for employing these unfortunate people as convict labour were concluded and I. G. Farben evolved what was perhaps the most perfect system for putting Goebbels' phrase into practice.

The firm needed new factories for the production of synthetic rubber, so the problem of manpower was solved very simply. The factories must be built on the territory of the concentration camps, to which prisoners of war and people driven forcibly from their homes had been herded like cattle. The first agreements of this kind had been concluded with the Reichsführer of the S.S. in 1940. But the enterprise of the directors of I. G. Farben, the very men who are in charge of the firm today, was truly inexhaustible. A new agreement was concluded with Himmler permitting the firm to set up its own concentration camps at its own projects.

The whole world knows about Oswieçim; Höss, the man in charge of this camp, admitted that several million people were exterminated there. Next door to this camp I. G. Farben built its own huge synthetic rubber plant and its own concentration camp at Monowitz with its own commandant, its own police and its own system for making people "use themselves up". As soon as the workers weakened and lost their ability to work, the firm's police undertook a fresh operation, that of destroying these unfortunate people.

"At one point in the winter of 1942-43," Gustav Herzog, a prisoner at Monowitz, testified at Nuremberg, "when the number of prisoners amounted to about 3,000 or 3,500, Hauptsturmführer Schwartz, accompanied by Walther Duernfeld [director of I. G. Farben's plant at Oswieçim—*the authors*] and several S.S. men who were in charge of the camp, ordered all the prisoners to form up in a column of five and march past him. Hauptsturmführer Schwartz then ordered all the prisoners who seemed lacking in strength to step out of the ranks. These people were

surrounded by S.S. men and had their numbers taken. Walther Duerrfeld occasionally questioned them as to whether they knew certain trades.... After that, between one and two thousand people were selected and sent immediately to the gas chambers."*

Another prisoner who managed to survive, Leon Staischak, added the final details to the picture:

"The selected prisoners were herded into an open lorry without footwear or underclothing in summer as well as winter and driven away. These prisoners often resisted and screamed. The lorries carrying them had to drive part of the way through the territory of the 'I.G.' plant. This had a very depressing effect and everyone knew that these prisoners were being taken away to an unknown destination."**

It should be remembered that Walther Duerrfeld, who took an active part in the mass extermination of people in the camps of Oswieçim and Monowitz, is still alive and prospers in Western Germany, where he is on the board of the Scholven-Chemie A. G. Co., Gelsenkirchen-Buer.

But the proprietors of I. G. Farben were still not content. They continued to seek ways of extracting profits. It was this that gave them the idea of making money out of the final scene of the terrible drama, the actual extermination. I. G. Farben offered S.S. headquarters certain poisonous gases and chemicals for destroying the "redundant" prisoners in the camps. For this purpose the firm's laboratories made the gas known as "tabun", whose effectiveness had already been tested on prisoners. A new source of profit had been discovered.

Now, fifteen years later, apologists of Hitlerism have appeared who are trying to deny the facts of the monstrous atrocities that took place in the concentration camps and present them as a piece of "cunning invention".

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* *SS im Einsatz*, Berlin, 1957, S. 468.
** *Ibid.*, S. 455.

The French writer Maurice Bardèche, for example, an inveterate reactionary, claims that "at Nuremberg the Germans were condemned on the basis of sophistry and lies". And the West German magazine *Die Anklage* has printed an article under the highly significant title: "The Vilest Falsification of History." The magazine does its best to prove that no German concentration camp had gas chamber or other apparatus for mass extermination of human beings, and that the exhibits which were supposed to be gas chambers and crematoriums were ... fakes. The statement that the big firms took part in mass extermination is, of course, classed as a "deliberate lie".

This is how they talk now. But here is an extract from the cross-questioning of Schnitzler, one of the bosses of I. G. Farben, in 1945:

"*Question*: What did you do when you found out that I. G. Farben chemicals were being used to kill, to murder people in the concentration camps?

"*Schnitzler's answer*: I was horrified.

"*Question*: Did you take any action?

"*Schnitzler's answer*: I did not speak about it because it was too frightening.

"I asked Müller-Cunradi if he, Ambros and the other directors knew that the gases and chemicals were being used to murder people.

"*Question:* What did he say?"

"*Schnitzler's answer:* He said, 'Yes, all the I. G. directors know about it.' "

This extract from the interrogation reveals clearly enough not only the anti-human essence of imperialism, which for the sake of profit is capable of committing the gravest crimes, but also the degree of moral degradation of those who are today attempting to rehabilitate German fascism and its evil deeds.

One recalls the testimony of Buchenwald prisoners that typhus germs produced in the I. G. Farben laboratories were tested on prisoners; these experiments were per-

formed by members of the firm's staff and frequently ended fatally for the victims.

Now let us go back to the trial of the directors of I. G. Farbenindustrie by the American Tribunal. This trial, which was in fact run by the lawyers with the judges taking only a very passive part, was a strange spectacle. It was strange, however, only for those who were ignorant of its background. The whole court had been carefully selected by the United States Assistant Secretary of War Howard Patterson, once a member of the law firm Cravath, de Gersdorff, Swaine & Wood, which for a number of years had represented the interests of I. G. Farben in the United States.

Under these circumstances it was hardly to be expected that the judges would be particularly interested in an investigation of the German chemical monopoly's co-operation with American firms. On the other hand, counsel for the defence were particularly unscrupulous in their attempts to gain an acquittal. It was later established that the lawyers, Alt in particular, had obtained access to the I. G. Farben archives and taken the opportunity to destroy a large number of documents that proved the firm's directors guilty of grave crimes. The connections between the American monopolies and I. G. Farben were too close for anyone to prohibit the lawyers who had access to the firm's records from removing "superfluous" papers.

One has only to take the example of Ford's. Everyone knows that I. G. Farben held 40 per cent of the shares of the Ford Motor Company in Germany. Carl Bosch, the President of I. G. Farben, was one of Ford's directors. Henry Ford, son of the firm's founder, had a seat on the board of the American I. G. Corporation, which was known as I. G. American. The illicit connections maintained by the Rockefellers with the German chemical monopoly during the Second World War have already been mentioned. In July 1943, an extremely interesting dialogue took place at a meeting of the shareholders of Standard Oil, which is

controlled by the Rockefellers. When one of the shareholders asked the head of the firm whether he was prepared to give an assurance that the firm's former relations with I. G. Farben would not be renewed after the war, the Rockefellers' representative replied calmly: "No, sir, I am not." The defence counsel were naturally at pains to conceal from the world these shameful and criminal facts, and much else besides.

Yet the court was presented with more than enough incriminating documentary and other evidence to support the indictment. Everything now depended on whether the judges would see in this evidence the facts that both the accused and their counsel found so upsetting.

The American judges did not see them, which was a pleasant surprise for the accused. What the judges did see was something quite different. They saw that the businessmen of Wall Street would be extremely averse to a lot of fuss being made over "these Germans".

The first question to be examined was the participation of the directors of I. G. Farben in the conspiracy against peace, their responsibility for the unleashing of aggressive wars. The court had more than enough evidence to support the charge. But it was not for nothing that Schacht was acquitted, and it was not for nothing that the United States authorities issued a circular instructing the American tribunals to accept as a precedent the decision by which Schacht was released.

General Clay, Governor-General of the American occupation zone in Germany, was also involved. In a special memorandum he demanded the acquittal of the directors of I. G. Farben and asserted that their imprisonment would jeopardise co-operation between the military administration and business circles.

The verdict was a fitting response to the efforts of international reaction. Out of the 23 accused, ten were completely exonerated, and 13 were condemned to terms of imprisonment so short that in the majority of cases they

were cancelled out by the time the accused had already spent in preliminary detention. Very soon all the directors of the firm were set free. Thus the memory of the millions who were worked to death at the I. G. Farben factories in the death camps or choked to death by the firm's poison gases was cynically outraged.

And what happened to the firm? The Potsdam Agreement had demanded decartelisation. Soon, however, the American authorities made it quite plain that they had released the I. G. Farben directors not just to let them draw pensions and write their memoires.

On July 5, 1945 the American military administration in Germany published Order No. 2 on the liquidation of the firm of I. G. Farbenindustrie. But only a few weeks later Eisenhower's chief economic adviser General Draper announced that it was essential to "maintain the centre of the German chemical industry".

In December 1945, Colonel Bernstein, who investigated the role of I. G. Farben during the war and brought to light the firm's criminal connections with American concerns, presented the Kilgore Committee with a detailed report pointing out that 87 per cent of the military-industrial machine of this monopoly in Western Germany had been preserved, and that in defiance of the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements the war chemical plants, far from being dismantled, were being expanded. The result was a strange one. Bernstein was "asked" to resign. He was replaced by Russel Nixon. But after Nixon dared to announce that officials of the State Department were preventing the exposure of I. G. Farben's secret connections, he, too, was compelled to leave his post.

On his return to the United States, Nixon made a number of facts public. He announced that Order No. 2 was not only not being carried out but that the I. G. Farben factories were being expanded, that the directors of the trust had been released and were again at work, that its shares were being quoted on the West German Stock Exchange,

and that American and British government bodies were not allowing confiscation of the trust's foreign assets.

Nixon named the leading officials of the American Military Administration in Germany who were helping I. G. Farben. These were Ambassador Robert D. Murphy, General Draper, formerly director of I. G. Farben branches in America, Colonel Peters, a representative of General Motors, and others. No sooner had the war ended than these men, who had served the German chemical monopoly in time of peace, who had continued to serve it in wartime and were even brought to trial by the American authorities for doing so, turned up in Germany to carry out the decisions on the dismantling of I. G. Farben. We can imagine how zealously they performed their task.

Though the name of I. G. Farben has been removed, the concern still functions as before. It has moved into the atomic industry in the Federal Republic of Germany, and is now producing heavy water.

It is worth noting that Western Germany is the only state in the capitalist world where the atomic industry is entirely in the hands of private concerns, concerns, moreover, that earned themselves such an unsavoury reputation during the Nazi period.

The American monopolists, too, have decided to swell their profits on the atomic business in Western Germany. During the Second World War, Hitler entrusted the Degussa concern (one of the I. G. Farben group) with the task of conducting research in the field of atomic fuel. It was this company that worked on the creation of a "secret weapon" for Hitler's Army. Nowadays the Degussa concern in Western Germany is producing pure uranium for the atomic factories that are being built in the region of Karlsruhe. It has a cartel agreement with the American Metal Corporation, which supplies the United States Government with uranium ore, lithium and other materials for the manufacture of atomic and hydrogen bombs. The American

Standard Oil Company (Rockefeller group) has its representative in the State Atomic Energy Commission of the Federal Republic of Germany. The American and German monopolies whose unity in the past cost millions of human lives are now combining their efforts in manufacturing weapons of mass annihilation. Is it not an ominous fact that I. G. Farben was one of the initiators in setting up the West German Society for Financing Atomic Research?

And on top of everything, I. G. Farben's affairs are still being managed by the same men—Ambros, Wurster, Ter-Meer, and the others who helped Hitler to carry out his aggressive policy, and Himmler to destroy millions of people in Oswieçim, Majdenik, Treblinka and Dachau, and made huge profits out of it.

THE FACTS OF A "GREAT AND AMAZING LIFE"

In. 1958, West Germany's biggest industrial magnate Friedrich Flick celebrated his seventy-fifth birthday. The greetings telegram from Federal Chancellor Konrad Adenauer was a eulogy of Flick and his "great and amazing life of achievement, in long and self-sacrificing toil...".

"A great and amazing life...." Flick read the words and the ribbon of memory streamed backwards, like a cinefilm, into the past, distant and yet so close....

...1915. The First World War coincided with the beginning of Friedrich Flick's career in big business. For some people war meant ruin, for him it meant profit. Flick as general director of the Charlottenhütte steel foundries bought up all the shares in this huge concern. Then followed a similar operation in buying up the steel companies of Silesia and bringing all these plants together into a single concern. Krupp was known as the "steel king", but Flick was no mere king! He was omnipresent in his striving for profit. Financier and stock-jobber, he was in his element when buying and selling. All his life he had been buying, reselling, then buying again—mines, metallurgical plants,

chemical plants, aircraft and motor works. He would barter anything with anybody as long as he made a profit. The main thing, of course, was to have a good business sense and close contacts with the government. Take the case that had made such a stir during the 1932 economic crisis. At that time he had sold a packet of shares of Vereinigte Stahlwerke to the Brüning Government for 90 per cent of their nominal cost, when they would fetch only 20 per cent on the exchange. Yes, those were anxious days when Hitler was making his bid for power. But the old man's conscience was clear, for he had done all he could to help the Führer. He gave him his name and influence. He opened his cash-box wide to the Nazis; he presented the Nazi Party with a luxurious estate. As a member of Himmler's Circle of Friends, he gave the S.S. and the Gestapo financial support to the tune of 100,000 marks a year. Finally, Flick himself became a member of the Nazi Party. No, even that was not a mistake. Since Flick was one of the most powerful monopolists the Führer took no important decisions without consulting him. He was close friends with Himmler and Göring and was their trusted representative. Business, of course, had been superb. The Flick concern embraced a large group of coal, iron-ore and mining enterprises as well as metallurgical plants in the Third Reich. Friedrich Flick himself was on the advisory boards of numerous other large industrial and financial concerns, a member of the presidium of the imperial coal and iron combines, and führer of the war economy. Indeed, it would take too long to recall all the posts he held! But his membership of the board of the Berg und Hüttenwerke Ost, a limited liability company with unlimited predatory appetites, is worth recalling.

The Eastern Company was engaged in exploiting the Soviet mining and metallurgical industry on the occupied territory of the U.S.S.R. Speaking of the plundering of the occupied territories Göring's parting words to the Reich Commissars he sent to the occupied territories were: "I

intend to plunder and plunedr effectively."* But was this not what Flick had been doing all his life in his own country? Göring's statement was naturally very much to his liking. At Nuremberg, R. A. Rudenko, the Chief Prosecutor for the U.S.S.R., had good reason to state that the German firms of Friedrich Krupp A. G., Herman-Göring-Werke, Siemens-Schuckert, and the Metall-Bergwerkgesellschaft Ost were particularly active in plundering the property of the Soviet Union.

Yes, Flick's affairs thrived. By the end of the Second World War he was supplying the Third Reich with 12 million tons of coal a year and a considerable proportion of the whole German steel output. His profits were stupendous.

Then came the defeat of Nazism. Flick's gamble was lost, he had backed the wrong horse! What of it? Such things happen to everyone who plays for high stakes in the big, dirty game known as business and imperialist politics. But had Flick actually lost? Naturally there was a great deal of anxiety and extremely palpable losses. Above all, two-thirds of the possessions he had owned in the time of the Third Reich were confiscated in Poland and Eastern Germany, where the stipulations of the Potsdam Agreement were carried out to the letter. Then there was his trial by an American court and a few years' imprisonment in Landsberg Prison, which, it is true, was more like a sanatorium than a gaol, and from which he continued to direct his business. But these were only the downgrades of that "great and amazing life"; the final result, which after all is what matters, has been that Flick is now richer and more powerful than he was under Hitler. How did this happen? In the winter of 1946 the American interrogator in prison handed him the newspaper *Post Meridian* for September 17 and said: "Read what they are saying about you."

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* *I.M.T.*, Vol. VII, p. 186.

The newspaper wrote that Flick was described by American officials as probably the most powerful force behind the scenes of the German war machine, even bigger than Gustav Krupp von Bohlen & Halbach.

We should add that the indictment at the trial stated, and provided documentary evidence to prove, that Flick and his companions were guilty on the following counts: they had "dishonoured the image of mankind... by joining in the enslavement of millions of unfortunate men and women all over Europe... imprisoned in Germany... under appalling and unspeakable circumstances". They "supported, joined in and profited by the foulest and most murderous policies and programmes of the Third Reich, in the course of which the Jewish people were... all but exterminated throughout Europe, and millions belonging to other groups and nations were imprisoned, tortured, and massacred". The accused had also "greedily plundered the resources of neighbouring countries overrun by the Wehrmacht".*

The indictment justly claimed that Hitler's dictatorship and his foreign policy of aggression had succeeded because "powerful groups supported it".

The following conclusion was drawn in the indictment: "Krupp, Flick, Thyssen and a few others swayed the industrial group; Beck, Fritsch, Rundstedt and other martial exemplars ruled the military clique. On the shoulders of these groups Hitler rode to power, and from power to conquest...."**

Such charges would appear to lead straight to the scaffold, and the indictment drawn up by the American prosecution left no doubt that it was meant to. "Tolerance of such crimes will destroy man's capacity for self-respect; their repetition would destroy mankind itself,"*** it said.

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* *Trials of War Criminals Before the Nuremberg Military Tribunal*, Vol. VI, Washington, 1952, p. 31.

** *Ibid.*, p. 32.

*** *Ibid.*, p. 33.

But this was only the appearance of things. Flick's brother businessmen on the other side of the Atlantic, his friends and partners, were not asleep either, and a few words from them in the "great democracy" of America carried more weight than all the volumes of incriminating materials collected by the investigators.

At the American Tribunal which dealt with Flick's case in 1947 all these charges were confirmed. It was further established that Flick had taken an active part in drawing up the plan for the use of slave labour in industry and had pulled every possible string in order to get the maximum amount of forced labour for his own factories. The Tribunal also established that 50 per cent of all the workers at the Flick plants (in Heiningsdorf, for example) were people driven forcibly by the Nazi invaders from the occupied territories. Fifty per cent of the prisoners whom the S.S. handed over to the plants owned by Flick died from starvation or overexertion. The high mortality rate provides striking proof of the intolerable regime that was imposed upon these workers in their bondage.

Paul Pleiger, chairman of the presidium of the Reich Coal Group, of which Flick was also a member, was disturbed by these terrible figures, but for quite a different reason. In a letter to Speer, the Minister of Armaments, of July 30, 1943, Pleiger wrote: "I must insist on the full allocation of the 50,000 from the so-called July scheme and of the 200,000 Soviet prisoners of war, pursuant to the Führer's order, to the last man....

"When I demanded 250,000 workers, I based it on the assumption that the current losses would amount to about 30 per cent. The number of labour for allocation for the period from 1 July till 20 August 1943, of which you have been informed, show, however, that the losses at the moment are considerably higher."* These facts and, particularly, Pleiger's letter were incontrovertible proof of the de-

* *Trials of War Criminals Before the Nuremberg Military Tribunal*, Vol. VI, Washington, 1952, pp. 66-67.

liberate mass murder of enslaved workers. The American judges, however, acting under pressure from Flick's influential American friends, refused to recognise the facts and managed to "adjust" the evidence of these frightful crimes to suit their masters.

Concerning the mass extermination of human beings at the Flick enterprises, for example, the verdict stated: "The defendants had no actual control of the administration of such a programme even where it affected their own plants."*

Concerning the large sums that Flick and his associates gave the S.S. and the Gestapo for developing their vile activities, the judges wrote in the sentence: "The giving began long before the war, at a time when the criminal activities of the S.S. if they had begun, were not generally known."**

The remaining evidence was "evaluated" in the same spirit. And so, on the basis of such arguments the American Tribunal decided that it would be sufficient to deprive Flick of his freedom for seven years. But he did not serve even that sentence. The amnesty restored his freedom in quite a short time.

By 1953 Flick was back at his old game of speculating on the Stock Exchange. He sold part of his property in the Ruhr and began to expand in the motor industry. Soon the controlling packet of shares in the Daimler-Benz company was in his hands. Then he became master of another motor company, Auto-Union. On his instructions the financier Krages acquired the controlling packet of shares in Bayerische Motoren-Werke A. G. by buying out the small shareholders, and since Flick already had shares in this company his influence was now decisive. He then started buying up the firms that supplied the motor industry with raw materials and components. Soon the Witten Alloy Steel Company and the Buderus Foundries were also his.

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* *Ibid.*, p. 1196.
** *Ibid.*, p. 1220.

Flick was not the one to be left out of the more modern industries. He became one of the shareholders in the West German firms which through the Süd Syndicate have concluded an agreement with Lockheed Aircraft Company; this agreement makes it possible for the German factories to manufacture military aircraft under a Lockheed licence.

Flick also has a hand in the manufacture of the American-licenced Hawk earth-to-air rocket, which will be produced at the AEG plants, a monopoly of which Flick is one of the directors.

The fact that he owns the Dynamit Trust and the uranium mines in Bavaria shows how broad are the interests of this inveterate war criminal.

Flick has not stood aside from the campaign for handing over profitable state enterprises to private capitalists. The Bavarian Government's shares in the Maxhütte Metallurgical Works have also passed to the ubiquitous Flick.

Of recent years he and other West German monopolists have begun to feel cramped in their own country. A new stage has been entered, involving the expansion of German capital abroad. Flick was the first to show initiative in this sphere.

In 1954 he sold the controlling share packet of the Harpener Bergbau coal company to French monopolists in the Sidéchar industrial consortium. The result of this deal was that the share of French capital in West German mining rose to 12 per cent, and in coke production, to 14 per cent.

But it would be naïve to suppose that Flick would permit the French monopolies to penetrate unilaterally into West Germany. With the funds obtained from this operation he immediately acquired the controlling packet of shares in the Lorraine metallurgical and heavy machine-building company, the Société de Maison Chatillon. The latter is one of the biggest among producers of steel and iron wire in Western Europe.

The Federal Republic's ruling circles watched this new version of Flick's old practices with approval.

It was noted in the press that "for the first time since the Second World War" a German company had succeeded in gaining "direct participation in French heavy industry".

But Flick's next foreign move received even greater acknowledgement. This was in 1955, when he acquired the controlling packet of shares in the Belgian Société Metallurgique Hainaut-Sambre, Belgium's second largest metallurgical plant.

The *Industriekurier*, mouth-piece of the West German monopolies, enthused over Flick's commercial initiative as a "policy of European integration".

Thus in the person of Flick and other magnates the finance capital of the Federal German Republic seeks to present its tie-up with foreign capital as "reciprocal". This "reciprocity" creates a community not only of economic but also of foreign policy interest with regard to a number of important international problems.

Further penetration of foreign capital into Western Germany and of German capital abroad is regarded by Flick and the Adenauer Government as one of the weapons for enhancing the role of the German monopolies in the world capitalist economy and in world politics.

If we add to this that Flick represents in the Federal Republic the interests of the French aircraft company Dassault we shall realise just how far the tentacles of this octopus of monopoly capital reach.

Such is the story of Flick's life, and as such it quite naturally delights Adenauer.

At one time Friedrich Flick was Hitler's closest adviser; now he plays the same role for the Chancellor of Federal Germany. The Flicks are just as necessary to the "Christian Democracy" of the Federal Republic as they were to the Third Reich; they directed and are still directing the reactionary internal and aggressive foreign policy of Western Germany.

Who stands at the helm of the Federal German Republic, whose obstinate hand is steering this ship on its course of a dangerous and unthinking imperialist policy?

Konrad Adenauer is not only the Federal Chancellor; he is also the leader of West Germany's biggest political party, the Christian-Democratic Union. It has always been typical of Adenauer to attempt to hide his political activity behind a religious smoke-screen.

What are his real beliefs? To reply objectively to this question the best course is to look up the historical facts.

Konrad Adenauer was fifty-two when on February 12, 1929, in the days of the Weimar Republic, he sent the Duce a telegram of congratulations which stated: "The name of Mussolini will be inscribed in golden letters in the history of the Catholic Church."

Such was a Christian Democrat's assessment of one of the most vicious and dangerous obscurantists of all time. His conduct four years later was therefore quite consistent.

... Hitler had just seized power. Before a month was out he showed by what methods he intended to rule. The Nazis set fire to the Reichstag and used this provocation to get rid of all undesirable elements. The age of repression without trial and concentration camps began. Anti-Semitism spread like wildfire and the first hundreds of victims were counted.

And at this time, March 30, 1933, the Centre Group of the Catholic Party in the municipality of Cologne, the leader of which was Adenauer, defined its attitude to these developments in the following declaration:

"We should in no way hinder the government that Herr Reich President has called to power [i.e., Hitler's Government—*the authors*]."

"We welcome the extermination of communism and the suppression of Marxism, which is now being carried out on a scale that was impossible in the course of the whole

post-war period. The penetration of socialist ideas among the German people which began in 1918 has prevented us to this day from creating a state that would accord with our aspirations, because the Catholic minority has been in a position to prevent only the most threatening consequences of socialism."

Here then is the public evidence that Hitler's bloodthirsty Reich was the state that the Catholic minority and one of its leaders Adenauer had long dreamed of building.

Hitlerism and Christianity, what could be more blasphemous than such a combination for any true Christian? But not for Adenauer, who without batting an eyelid could at the age of nearly sixty welcome the advent of the Führer to power. Since then Chancellor Adenauer has grown twenty-seven years older, but he has not changed his political views one inch.

While in the long years of the Hitler tyranny the best sons of the German people perished fighting it, Adenauer, closely connected with the monopolists who had brought Hitler to power, lived undisturbed in his home at Röhndorfer Heim. After retiring from his post as burgomaster of the city of Cologne he regularly received from the Hitler Government a money allowance "for his services". Never did he show the slightest objection to the crimes of the Third Reich.

It was the same when Hitler's collapse was imminent. At the end of 1943 a party colleague Wilhelm Gerst called on Adenauer and asked him to fight Hitler. "Among my acquaintances," he said, "there are many people who see in you the first Reich Chancellor after the collapse of Hitler." Adenauer's clear and laconic reply was: "I have not heard these words!"

Of course, he hadn't! He was far too careful to get himself spoken of even in private as an "oppositionist". In Hitler's time that might have cost him dear, and Adenauer was not the kind of man to risk his own person in the political struggle.

When the defeat of the Third Reich was complete, the German and American monopolists had good reason to consider him the most suitable man to succeed after Hitler to the Chancellor's chair. Naturally he consented. This was the power of which he was so fond, and with no risk attached!

The decisive factor was Adenauer's long-standing connection with the monopolists. In this cutthroat world, where the profit motive reigned supreme, he had been accepted since the twenties.

In those days the Federal Chancellor was director of the Deutsche Bank. Adenauer's family is a big shareholder in such aircraft firms as Focke-Wulf, Junkers A.G., Messerschmitt, and also firms engaged in guided missiles research. Adenauer himself holds shares in the multi-branch Daimler-Benz A.G.

We know already that Lockheed's of America have granted Messerschmitt and Daimler-Benz A.G. licences for the production of Lockheed aircraft and Lockheed engines. Thus, Adenauer and his family are now included among the shareholders of Lockheed's international groups, which produce the aircraft that have been called "flying espionage laboratories". Thus yet another thread binds the Chancellor and his family by the firm ties of business to the most vicious war-mongers on the other side of the Atlantic.

Even during the war the monopolies took him on the advisory boards of the Deutsche Lüfthansa Company, Ruhrgas A.G., Rheinisch Westfählische Elektrizitätswerke A.G., and others. He is also connected with the Werhahn Bank, the Morgan and Rockefeller concerns in the United States, and with the French monopolies. In addition, he has family ties with the American financial magnates: through his wife he has become a relative of the chairman of the New York Chase Manhattan Bank McCloy, former United States High Commissioner in Germany.

It is not surprising that when he was High Commissioner, McCloy made every effort to see that Adenauer became Chancellor.

There is also nothing surprising about the choice of advisers who surround Adenauer and are, in effect, the true rulers of Western Germany. To what extent the West German monopolies are now actively penetrating "governmental spheres" can be seen from the case of that "star" in the Bonn heavens, the famous West German banker Pferdmenges, Chairman of the Union of Bankers of Western Germany.

Though in practice he ignores parliament when deciding important questions of internal or foreign policy, Adenauer does not take a single step without previous consultation with Pferdmenges.

In the past Pferdmenges was one of Hitler's creditors; now this Cologne banker is creditor of Adenauer's Christian-Democratic Union. He is chairman or member of the advisory boards of about thirty concerns and companies. He is connected with firms that fulfil large military orders and is known as a vigorous advocate of the militarisation of West Germany. A spokesman of the United States Finance Department Schmidt once described Pferdmenges as one of the secret bosses of the huge Nazi finance and military machine. Pferdmenges grew fabulously rich during the Second World War and took an active part in plundering the territories overrun by Hitler's hordes.

There is no doubt of the cordial unity that existed between Pferdmenges and the Nazi regime in the past. In 1945 he was included in the list of the most dangerous war criminals but was saved by the American monopolies, with whom he had worked in close co-operation during the years of fascism. The connection has been maintained to this day through the American International Trust Corporation and the Morgan concern. Pferdmenges is connected with the Shroeder Bank in New York.

The richest businessman in Western Germany, this "short, frail gentleman", as the Swiss *Die Weltwoche* describes him, "is the verb 'to be' in Bonn's political grammar". Pferdmenges, the paper goes on to say, is "the link that binds Adenauer with the financial circles and heavy industry".

In 1949, Pferdmenges spent more than two million marks bribing the Bundestag deputies to get Adenauer elected to the post of Chancellor. On Adenauer's seventy-fifth birthday, he presented him on behalf of the West German industrialists with a cheque for one million marks! According to the press Adenauer and Pferdmenges have been friends for three decades.

Since the war Pferdmenges has been financing the neo-Nazi movement that exists in such forms as the *Bruderschaft*, the *Bundesverband*, and the *Erste Legion*. It was he who in the summer of 1951 organised a secret fund to the tune of three million marks for carrying on sabotage against the German Democratic Republic.

Besides Pferdmenges, the Chancellor's closest advisers include, be it noted, such powerful representatives of monopoly capital in the Federal Republic as Flick, Klöckner, Siemens and others. Many of them were condemned as war criminals after 1945, but they have long since regained their freedom and are prospering as businessmen.

Such is the circle in which the Bonn Chancellor moves; he has a right to be considered the best instrument of the aggressive plans of monopoly capital in the Federal German Republic.

It can be said with full authority that the same monopolies which in 1932-33 played a vital role in bringing Hitler to power brought Adenauer to power in 1949 and have been supporting him ever since. We have already seen that the German monopolies contributed considerable sums to Hitler's election campaigns and financing the Nazi Party. They are doing the same thing now. The monopolists' methods of financing the Christian Democratic Union

and the "free elections" the Party fights are many and various.

In North Rhine-Westphalia every factory-owner allots ten marks per worker for this purpose. But the big coal-owners solve the problem "differently" from the way they did under Hitler. In those days, the Ruhr Coal Syndicate laid it down that every employer should contribute to the Nazi Party fund five pfennings per ton of *marketed coal*; to finance the Christian Democratic Union for the 1957 elections the Employers' Union decided to claim the same five pfennigs, but per ton of *coal mined*. How can anyone say after this that everything is run in the old way! True, the total takings amounted to six million marks, exactly the same amount that was presented by the Ruhr magnates to Hitler for his vicious undertakings.

Let us take a look at the people Doctor Adenauer has invited to join his government, to share with him the burdens of power and ensure the Federal Republic's "democratic and peaceful development". It would be a severe test of our readers' patience were we to make them study with us the biographies of all those who at present form the ruling clique in Western Germany. But for this there is no necessity because the biographies are so depressingly uniform, not, of course, in detail but in such fundamentals as social position, political beliefs and the political past of each individual.

So just a few examples: Heinrich Lübke, President of the Federal German Republic, representative of the big landowners, member of the Management Board of the Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau Bank. Ludwig Erhard, Vice-Chancellor and Economics Minister, one of the owners of the Grundig Radio Works; in the past he was economic adviser to Hitler's Gauleiter Bürckel, a director of the Nazi Institute for the Study of Market Conditions. Franz Etzel, the Federal Minister of Finances, is a member of the advisory boards of the Wesel-Niederrhein Bank, son-in-law of the Hamburg banker Hugo Scharnberg, a di-

rector of the Deutsche Bank. Franz Josef Strauss, the Defence Minister, is a trusted representative of I. G. Farben, has connections with the Klöckner concern, and is an ex-officer of the Wehrmacht. Fritz Schäffer, the Minister of Justice, is a member of the Management Board of the Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau Bank, and belonged to the volunteer corps which crushed the uprising of the German proletariat in 1918-20; an accomplice of the Nazis, he was removed by the United States Occupation Authorities from the post of Bavarian Minister-President; now he is in charge of justice in Bonn. Theodor Blank, Minister of Labour and member of the advisory board of Gelsenkirchener Bergwerke A.G. in Essen, was the War Minister who laid the foundations for the remilitarisation of the Federal Republic. Hans-Christoph Seebohm, Minister of Communications and representative of the Dresdner Bank, was before the Nazis came to power a leading official in numerous enterprises. Under the Nazis he was an S.S. commander. Hermann Lindrath, Minister of Federal Property, is a trusted representative of the Deutsche Bank. Till 1945 he was an active member of the Nazi Party. In 1948, after committing various acts of economic sabotage in Eastern Germany, he absconded from Halle and is now engaged in denationalising state property in the Federal Republic, handing over enterprises built by the people to the monopolies. Siegfried Balke, Minister of Atomic Power, is a representative of I. G. Farben and sits on the advisory boards of various large chemical plants.

Such are the leading lights in the executive committee for the affairs of the monopolies, or in other words, the Government of the Federal German Republic.

We need not be surprised that this government performs all the wishes of the monopolies no matter how grievously such measures affect the working people and representatives of the middle classes.

Control of the government by the monopolies is carried out in a highly organised manner, which is strikingly ex-

pressed in the so-called "legislative initiative" shown by the firms and banks. In the years 1950-56 the Federal Union of Industry alone has submitted to government bodies no less than 1,160 proposals, counting only those of an important and fundamental character. They cover all fields of policy, from individual matters of taxation and company law to vital problems of export policy, the arming of the Wehrmacht and foreign relations.

The flood of proposals submitted by the Employers' Union to Parliament has been so great that the party in power, the Christian Democratic Union, has found it necessary to set up a special committee to co-ordinate their demands and wishes in economics, finance and social policy. Since it is impossible in Western Germany, as we have seen, to draw a line between the monopolies and the government, the work of this committee has been very much "simplified".

According to the West German press "private contracts" with the big industrial groups have been signed at Chancellor Adenauer's residence and afterwards placed before parliament for "ratification".

Not only the central government institutions but also the local bodies are closely wedded to the monopolies. According to data collected by the Cologne Institute of Economics, 383 representatives of the central and local government bodies "co-operate" extensively with the monopolies and hold 1,206 posts on their advisory boards.

Important parliamentary bodies are directly controlled by responsible representatives of the monopolies. In the Bundestag that was elected in 1953, for instance, representatives of the Ruhr firm Hoesch, Hans Wellhausen & Martin Blank were chairmen of the auditing and budgetary committees of the Bundestag; Pferdmenges the banker ran the parliamentary committees on finance, taxation, money and credit. Fritz Berendsen, a representative of the Klöckner concern, was simultaneously a member of the Bundestag foreign relations committee, the European se-

curity committee, and the foreign trade and transport committees. In the parliamentary labour, press, radio and cinema committees Schloss represented the Stinnes concerns. Pohle, a representative of the Mannesmann concern, has participated in committees dealing with law, economic policy and foreign affairs.

The situation scarcely changed even after the 1957 elections, which brought only minor changes in the monopolies' representation in the Bundestag.

But even holding the big posts in the government is not enough for the monopolies, and the practice of lobbying has become so prevalent in Bonn that it beats even the classical American cases. Representatives of economic groups are hard at work in the lobbies of Parliament, using the time-honoured methods of bribery and blackmail to obtain tax reductions, subsidies, adjustments of rail tariffs and much else besides.

The practice has gone so far that Gerstenmaier, Chairman of the Bundestag, was compelled to admit in 1956 that "special organs and unions are increasingly trying to exert pressure on deputies immediately before legal projects are put to the vote". With such a government and such a parliament every important legislative proposal naturally represents a concession to the monopolies, and brings them further valuable benefits in open contradiction to the interests of the other sections of the population.

The Investment Assistance Act of January 7, 1952 marked a new stage in the state-monopoly financing of concerns and trusts. It instituted compulsory redistribution of capital accumulation in industry in favour of the heavy industry and power group (the metallurgical plants, the coal mines, and the power stations).

In the space of two years over 130,000 firms contributed to the Investment Assistance Fund sums that enabled the government to grant long-term credits to the heavy industries to the tune of 4,750 million marks. This unpre-

cedented state action played a big part in increasing accumulation in heavy industry.

Protests by the capitalists of the light industry as well as owners of small and medium firms, who appealed to the juridical bodies on the grounds that the law was a violation of the Constitution, remained voices in the wilderness. The interests of the monopolies were, of course, more powerful than the fundamental law of the land.

The West German state, particularly in the first years of its existence, granted tax concessions on profits that were ploughed back into the firm's fixed capital or used to expand circulating capital. Income from securities was taxed much more heavily.

The bosses of the West German monopolies took advantage of this tax distinction. They consistently refused to issue new shares and bonds on the Stock Exchanges, reduced to the minimum the payment of dividends to the mass of their small and scattered shareholders, and kept a large part of their profits in the circulation of their concerns in the form of various funds allegedly for insurance, amortisation and so on. By avoiding taxation the monopolies simultaneously acquired funds for fresh investments not in the usual way through the banks but largely from their own profits.

The 1952 tax reform created even more favourable conditions for the monopolies. According to the new law, sums far in excess of the real depreciation of fixed capital could be written off to the tax-free amortisation fund. This artificially boosted fund enabled the monopolists in the first three years of operating under the new law to accumulate approximately an additional 2,000 million marks. It is not surprising that after the Bundestag elections in the autumn of 1957, the Federal Union of Industry insistently demanded that the system of writing off profits to artificially boosted amortisation funds should be maintained.

When the Ruhr miners after a stubborn struggle won a

pay rise for underground and surface workers in February 1955, it was entirely paid for by the state out of the pockets of the medium and small taxpayers by the granting of a special subsidy to the coal monopolies of the Ruhr. Yet in spite of this subsidy the monopolies nevertheless raised the price of coal by an average of 4.1 marks a ton and naturally did very well out of the "adjustment".

The Government of the Federal German Republic is doing everything to stimulate the penetration of German goods into foreign markets in the interests of the monopolies. Export deals are carried through with the aid of large government credits. In a mere three years (1952-55) nearly 1,000 million marks were handed out in the form of credits from the state. In addition, taxation debts incurred by large exporters were deferred without payment of interest, which meant they were actually receiving from the state an interest-free loan of over 1,000 million marks. With this backing the West German monopolies have been able to gain ground against their competitors on foreign markets.

Only energetic pressure from the monopolists of other West European countries forced the Federal German Government to give up this policy, which was rightly described as "artificial export backing". But the elimination of these privileges took a very long time and the boosting of exports by means of tax manipulations has not really ceased to this day.

In West Germany, as in other capitalist countries, there are firms that belong to the state but not to the people. Such enterprises are run by the imperialist state and serve the interests not of the workers but of the monopolies. When these state factories, which were demolished in the course of the Second World War and restored by the efforts of the working people and the tax contributions of the West German population, once again become profitable, they are handed over to the monopolists.

In 1958, the monopolies received yet another gift from the government: the profits tax was reduced from 30 per cent to 11 per cent, and an additional 160 million marks a year flowed into their vaults.

Such are the most striking facts that are typical of the activities of the Adenauer Government and confirm its well established reputation as a faithful and unprotesting servant of the monopolies.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Adenauer, reflecting the interests of the big German monopolies, conducts an aggressive policy of revenge and demands the forcible readjustment of European frontiers in favour of the Federal Republic.

In his very first government statement in 1949, Adenauer set forth these demands:

"I speak of the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements and of the Oder-Neisse line. Under no circumstances can we reconcile ourselves to the annexation of these provinces."

When deputy Reimann retorted that the Oder-Neisse was a frontier of peace, Adenauer replied that the Federal Government considered it "incompatible with its duty or its dignity" to listen to such speeches.

Such was Konrad Adenauer's political *début* in the international arena. Since then he has displayed absolute consistency over this issue.

Opening the so-called "green week" in West Berlin on February 1, 1953, he declared: "We shall try to preserve for the peasantry these young peasants in order that they may one day again bring about the colonisation of the East. I think that is what this task should be called."*

In other speeches the Federal Chancellor has specified what lands he intends to colonise with the help of the young peasants.

Speaking in May 1956 at a meeting of the Federal Union of German Industry in Cologne, Adenauer called the Soviet

* *Weißbuch über die aggressive Politik der Regierung der deutschen Bundesrepublik*, Berlin, 1958, S. 59.

Union Germany's "mortal enemy".... In an election speech in 1957 he described the Soviet Union as an "aggressive nation".

In an interview published in the American *Saturday Evening Post* of April 11, 1955, Adenauer stated: "It is my conviction that all negotiations with the Soviets must be based upon strength."*

The task of defining the limits of colonisation and the aspirations of the West German imperialists was undertaken by the Bonn diplomat Hallstein, who in a speech in New York in 1954 demanded "the unification of Europe as far as the Urals".

In 1958-59 the Chancellor became the pioneer and organiser of a campaign against any proposals aimed at reducing international tension, particularly with regard to the Berlin question and the question of a peace treaty with Germany.

When he flew into West Berlin in a special U.S. Air Force plane on December 4, 1958, Adenauer made a speech on the Berlin question in which he openly put forward territorial claims against Germany's eastern neighbour—the Polish People's Republic. These same demands, but in more elaborate form (how reminiscent of Hitler!) were repeated by the Chancellor on February 6, 1959 after his third meeting with the President of the French Republic M. de Gaulle in a speech that was broadcast on French state television. Adenauer stated directly and unambiguously: "The Germans of Poland and the Sudetenland must return home."

To choose Paris as a place for making territorial claims on France's wartime allies, Poland and Czechoslovakia, allies who spared no sacrifice, no effort to bring about the liberation of the peoples of Europe from the fascist yoke, the aged Chancellor must not only possess what might

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* *Beware! German Revenge-Seekers Threaten Peace*, Prague, 1959, p. 57.

be described as "courage" but also be completely lacking in a sense of humour.

At the Munich Congress of the Christian Democratic Union on June 14, 1959, Chancellor Adenauer decided once again to explain his views on the problem of the unification of Germany:

"We must speak not so much of the re-unification of Germany as of the liberation of 17 million Germans from Communist slavery."

What the German militarists mean by the word "liberation" of peoples is well known. But the German militarists know not only the road to the East but the road to the West as well. The Chancellor decided to remind the world of this fact in his speech at Cologne on June 28, 1959 at a rally of the revanchist Silesian Länder organisation. In this speech Adenauer openly supported the revanchists' claims to territories that were part of the pre-1914 German Empire, specifically Alsace-Lorraine, Eupen and Malmedy and North Schleswig.

It is not surprising that with such a statesman at its head the Federal German Republic turned out to be the only country at the NATO session at the end of 1959 that had "fulfilled its arms quota for 1959".

When one considers these facts it makes one wonder just what hopes certain very highly placed diplomats are entertaining when they include in their documents the words that Chancellor Adenauer used in his message to Soviet Prime Minister N. S. Khrushchov:

"You write that revanchism is rife among the German people, that there are revanchists even in my Government. Yes, you go so far, Mr. Prime Minister, as to hint that even I am possibly a revanchist.

"No, Mr. Prime Minister, in this you are profoundly mistaken.... I am not a revenge-seeker, I would never tolerate a single revenge-seeker in my government, I would never tolerate a single Minister who is a revenge-seeker.

"You know that I have always been an absolute oppo-

nent of National Socialism, that I was deeply unhappy to observe this development among the German people at that time."

Such words, naturally, are intended not for the person they are addressed to. Adenauer is well aware that the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union must be convinced by deeds, not by words that contradict the facts. Is this not an indirect manifestation of that contemptuous attitude to the "common people" so often found among reactionary statesmen, who think the people know nothing and understand nothing and the even ill-calculated propaganda can convince them that black is white, and hell, a paradise?

* * *

Twice during the life of one generation the secret activities of the monopolies have plunged the nations into the abyss of world war and appalling crime. Now, when the monopolists, above all those of America and West Germany, are striving to unleash a third world war, the peoples of all countries must be ever vigilant.